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6 March 1984

USSR REPORT SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 1983

Translation of the Russian-language journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA published quarterly in Moscow by the Institute of
Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.

CONTENTS

Sociological Science to the Level of the Present Tasks of Social Development (pp 3-8) (Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Vilen Nikolayevich Ivanov, director of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences) For text of this article see JPRS-UPS-84-007, Political and Sociological Affairs, pp 62-73)	
THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS	
Socialist Way of Life, Quality of Life, Standard of Living (pp 9-16) (M. N. Rutkevich)	1
Nature of Social Consciousness (pp 17-28) (B. A. Grushin)	11
Foreign Panorama (p 28) (not translated)	
THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL HERITAGE OF K. MARX AND THE PRESENT	
Marxism and Revolutionary Russia (pp 29-36) (Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Mikhail Trifonovich Iovchuk, chairman of the Scientific Council for the History of Social Thought of the USSR Academy of Sciences) (not translated)	
The Social Content of the Category "Gemeinwesen" in the Works of Karl Marx (pp 36-49) (Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Yuriy Niko- layevich Davydov, deputy chief of the Department of the Theory and History of Sociology of the Institute of Sociological Re- search of the USSR Academy of Sciences) (not translated)	
THE EXPERIENCE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF SOCIOLOGICAL RECOMMENDATIONS	
Regional Sectorial Approach to Manpower Resources (pp 50-56) (V. F. Dobrik)	26

URGENT PROBLEMS OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF LABOR

Labor, Consumption of Industrial Workers (pp 57-64)	
(V. B. Golofast, L. Ye. Kesel'man, T. Z. Protasenko)	35

Productivity, Satisfaction With Work (pp 64-71)	
(V. S. Magun)	45

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FOOD PROGRAM: SOCIAL ASPECTS

Rural Population Stabilization (pp 72-77)	
(E. A. Yelizar'yev, V. A. Zubkov, R. P. Kutenkov)	55

APPLIED RESEARCH

Manpower in Consumer Services (pp 78-84)	
(Ya. A. Davidovich, A. G. Kosayev)	62

Social. Occupational Differences in Mental, Physical Labor (pp 84-91)	
(S. P. Mukasyan, L. V. Umanets)	71

Production Activity of Young Workers (pp 92-95)	
(I. N. Ryndya)	81

SOCIAL PLANNING

Prevention of Drunkenness, Alcoholism (pp 96-105)	
(G. G. Zaigrayev)	87

FACTS, COMMENTS, NOTES (FROM THE WORKTABLE OF THE SOCIOLOGIST)

Age Factor in Turnover of Personnel (pp 106-108)	
(A. I. Rybakov, A. I. Sinyuk)	100

Kirghiz Rural Way of Life (pp 108-110)	
(K. I. Isayev)	104

On the Formation of the Labor Traditions of the Collective of
an Industrial Enterprise (pp 111-112) (Irina Aleksandrovna
Sosunova, junior scientific associate of the Institute of
Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences)
(not translated)

Problems of Preparing Children for School (pp 112-115)	
(N. P. Grishayeva)	108

School Children About the School of the Future (pp 115-117)
(Sergey Serafimovich Solov'yev, junior scientific associate
of the Scientific Research Institute of General Pedagogy of
the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences) (not translated)

A Comparative Study of the Visitors of the "Moscow-Paris"
Exhibition (pp 118-120) (Sergey Palladiyevich Starodubtsev,
senior scientific associate of the State Museum of Fine Arts
imeni A. S. Pushkin) (not translated)

Musical Tastes of Young People (pp 120-123)	
(G. B. Zulumyan, V. N. Solov'yev, V. I. Shul'gin)	113

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

- Survey of Exhibition Visitors (pp 124-129)
(V. G. Andreyenkov, O. M. Maslova, N. A. Svyatitskiy). 118

FROM THE HISTORY OF SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT

- The Formation of the Sociology of Knowledge: The Concept of Symbolic
Forms of Ernst Cassirer (pp 130-139) (Aleksandr Nikolayevich
Malinkin, junior scientific association of the Institute of Socio-
logical Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences) (not translated)

MARXIST SOCIOLOGY ABROAD

- Functional Types of Indicators in Social Management (pp 140-147)
(M. Illner). 127

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS SOCIETY

- The Social Drama of the American Cinema (pp 148-153)
(Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Mikhail Ivanovich Zhabskiy,
chief of a sector of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute
of Cinematography of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography)
(not translated)

- The "Deprivatization" of the Vital Activity of City Residents: The
Contradictions of Capitalist Urbanization (pp 153-157)
(Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Aleksandr Dmitriyevich
Khlopin, junior scientific associate of the Institute of the
International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of
Sciences) (not translated)

CRITICISM OF CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY

- Neoconservatism as Reflection of General Crisis of Capitalism (pp 158-164)
(S. I. Popov). 137

- On the Ideological Content of the Concept "Civil Religion" (pp 165-167)
(Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Ivan Yevdokimovich Zadorozhnyuk,
chief of a department of the editorial board of PSIKHOLOGICHESKIY
ZHURNAL) (not translated)

RESULTS, PLANS, INTENTIONS

- Momdzhyan on Contribution of Soviet Sociological Association (pp 168-169)
(Kh. N. Momdzhyan interview). 148

- Foreign Panorama (p 169)
(not translated)

FROM THE EDITORIAL MAIL

- Training of Sociologists (pp 170-171). 151

SCIENTIFIC LIFE

- Conference on Socialist Culture, Mass Media (pp 172-173)
(S. N. Plotnikov). 155

Finnish-Soviet Demography Seminar (pp 173-174)	
(T. D. Ivanova)	158
Two Months in the FRG (pp 175-180)	
(Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Mikk Kharriyevich Titma, chief of the Department of Philosophy and Sociology of the Institute of History of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences) (not translated)	
News Items (pp 181-182)	160
BOOK REVIEWS	
Designing of Social Objects (pp 183-184)	
(O. L. Leybovich, Z. I. Faynburg)	163
Influence of Scientific, Technical Revolution on Culture (pp 185-186)	
(T. I. Adulo, Ye. M. Babosov)	166
Theory of Organizations (pp 186-188)	
(A. I. Kravchenko)	169
Mathematics in Sociology (pp 188-189)	
(B. Z. Doktorov)	172
Power, Ideology in Brazil (pp 189-191)	
(V. V. Razuvayev)	174
Religion as Political Weapon (pp 191-192)	
(Yu. Ya. Tyurin)	177
Sociological Analysis of Love (pp 192-193)	
(G. S. Michurin)	179
BOOKSHELF OF THE SOCIOLOGIST	
New Books (pp 194-195)	182
Foreign Panorama (pp 195-197) (not translated)	
Index of Articles Published in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in 1983 (pp 198-203) (not translated)	
Table of Contents (pp 204-205)	
Reader's Questionnaire (pp 207-208) (not translated)	

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THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE, QUALITY OF LIFE, STANDARD OF LIVING

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
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[Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Mikhail Nikolayevich Rutkevich, chief of the Chair of Marxism-Leninism of the Academy of the National Economy attached to the USSR Council of Ministers: "The Socialist Way of Life: Qualitative and Quantitative Certainty"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[Text] "The formula 'the increase of the standard of living' is frequently used in our country. But at times they interpret it in a oversimplified manner, meaning only the increase of the income of the population and the production of consumer items. In reality the concept of the standard of living is much broader and richer."

From the materials of the June (1983)
CPSU Central Committee Plenum

The dialectic approach to the sociological concept "the way of life" presumes the use of ALL the principles of dialectic logic, ALL the categories of dialectics, in other words, dialectics as a whole. As a result of the limitedness of the goals of the article we will focus attention on the correlation of the qualitative and quantitative certainty in the way of life and in this connection on the interconnection of the concepts "the way of life," "the quality of life" and "the standard of living."

In Soviet philosophical, sociological and economic literature of the 1970's and early 1980's there are differences in the "reading" of the mentioned concepts, this especially concerns the revelation of the connection between them. One of the reasons is the increasing division of labor in science, as a result of which the social scientists, who work in each of the indicated areas,

M. N. Rutkevich is the author of more than 10 monographs on philosophy and sociology, including "Intelligentsiya razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" [The Intelligentsia of Mature Socialist Society] (1977), "Dialektika i sotsiologiya" [Dialectics and Sociology] (1980), "Stanovleniye sotsial'noy odnorodnosti" [The Formation of Social Homogeneity] (1982) and others. He has published more than 300 articles, a number of them in our journal.

are striving to incorporate the terms in question in the already formed system of categories of their field of knowledge. Thus, whereas the concept "the way of life" usually receives a characterization in the general theoretical sociology of Marxism--historical materialism, the concept "the standard of living" receives it in economic science. Different systems of indicators of the way of life are accordingly proposed when conducting concrete sociological studies. The set of indicators, which exists in economic science and in which, apparently, it is necessary to make corrections, is used for the study of the dynamics of the standard of living. But the basic trouble is that these systems of indicators are at variance with each other.

The situation with the concept "the quality of life" is even more complex. In Marxist literature the attitude toward it was very contradictory--from direct borrowing from some western author (let us note that among bourgeois scholars there is no unity in the understanding of "the quality of life") to the complete denial of the possibility of a Marxist interpretation of the concept. A survey of bourgeois and reformist conceptions of "the quality of life" has been given more than once in Soviet sociological literature [6, 7]. Attempts at substantiating the dialectical materialistic approach to the problem have also been made. Thus, S. I. Popov expressed the opinion of an interconnection of the concepts of the way of life and the quality of life, which as a whole seems correct to us: "when using the concept 'the way of life,' it is legitimate to distinguish in it two interconnected and interdependent aspects: the quantitative and the qualitative. The latter precisely is also in its content on the same order as the concept 'the quality of life'" [7, p 37]. However, in other works this point of view did not undergo further development. At the same time it aroused, in our opinion, unfounded objections.

One of the attempts to dispute the above-cited point of view as an "elementary" one, which "with the more thorough elaboration of the problem" should be "refined," was made by I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada. In the book, which was published under his editorship and pursues a good goal--to elaborate a system of indicators of the way of life [8, p 34], the author attempts to separate "the way of life" and the categories related to it in the following manner. He indicates that two types of needs exist: immediate material needs, which permit "direct quantitative measurement in monetary or physical units," and "needs of higher orders" (which are connected with the familiarization with the good things of culture), which are "mediated" by society; the meeting of the latter "is usually evaluated by qualitative indicators and, as a rule, does not lend itself to quantitative evaluation" [ibid., p 32]. In the former case we are dealing with problems which are characterized by the concept "the standard of living," and this is a purely economic category, in the latter case it is a question of the quality of life, and this is a purely sociological category. In the end the author opposes the quality of life and the standard of living to the way of life, since, he says, in contrast to "the way of life" we are faced here not with vital activity as such, but once again with the conditions of vital activity [ibid., p 35].

In other words, Bestuzhev-Lada following a number of philosophers (A. P. Butenko and others) is inclined to regard the way of life as vital activity as such--in isolation of the conditions under which this vital activity occurs. We have already more than once had to speak against such an approach [9]. From

the viewpoint of historical materialism vital activity is regarded as always occurring under specific material and spiritual conditions. Moreover, the latter is determined by these conditions and at the same time constantly changes them, as well as the social relations and consciousness of people.

Thus, the way of life is "pure vital activity," while the standard of living (which is measurable quantitatively) and the quality of life (which does not lend itself to such measurement) are aspects of the living conditions. Such is the essence of the scheme proposed by Bestuzhev-Jada. Let us note that when constructing the system of indicators of the Soviet way of life the authors of the book to a certain extent departed from this basic theoretical aim, since they were forced to characterize, and quantitatively, the living conditions. If one attempts to evaluate the approach from the viewpoint of dialectics, there is, undoubtedly, a flexibility of thought, but you would not call this anything but subjective flexibility, since in real life the activity of people and its conditions and, consequently, their qualitative and quantitative characteristics are inseparably interwoven.

The problem in question is also being solved in an oversimplified manner by those Soviet philosophers who simply separate the way of life and the standard of living. They put in the content of the concept "the socialist way of life" only those traits which distinguish it from the bourgeois way of life. The sources of this stand lie in the one-sided interpretation of some assumptions which are contained in party documents.

But to confine oneself when characterizing the way of life on the theoretical level only to the attributes, which have been given in some party document or another from a quite specific point of view and in connection with a specific stage of the development of Soviet society [2], means to approach the problem in a one-sided manner, to separate the improvement of the socialist way of life from the accomplishment of ripe socioeconomic tasks, and thereby to deprive philosophical and sociological theory of its "foreseeing" function and to reduce it to the repetition of known truths, to "the proving of what has been proven" [3].

The concept of the standard of living, indeed, is an important category of economic science (its synonym is "the living standard") and is usually interpreted as the degree of satisfaction of material and spiritual needs, as the achieved level of consumption of basic material and cultural goods. The latter interpretation is the basis for the system of indicators of the standard of living, which is used in statistics and is employed in the practice of forecasting and planning. However, it is impossible not to note that a narrow, impoverished characterization of the content of the named concept is also widespread in economic literature. Thus, V. F. Mayyer includes in "the indicators which characterize the living standard as such" "all the indicators which reflect directly or indirectly the process of the personal consumption of material and spiritual goods" [10]. In this definition (as in many others) the culture of daily life and reasonable consumption and the level of service of the population in reality fall from consideration. As to spiritual goods, a certain discrepancy exists between the proposed theoretical definition of the concept and the proposed system of indicators. For the most part in the work it is a question of the structure of consumption of material goods, which

is mediated by the formation and distribution of income. The consumption of spiritual goods is characterized by a very narrow set of indicators.

Today the approach to the problem should be different. In a speech at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum Yu. V. Andropov noted the illegitimacy of an oversimplified interpretation of the formula "the increase of the standard of living," when "only the increase of the income of the population and the production of consumer items" are meant. "In reality," Yu. V. Andropov stressed, "the concept of the standard of living is much broader and richer. Here there are both the constant increase of the consciousness and culture of the people, including the culture of daily life, and what I would call the culture of reasonable consumption" [4, p 13]. And further it is a question of public order, a rational diet, the quality of service of the population, the use of free time, which is sound from a moral and esthetic point of view. And in conclusion the set of listed traits is characterized as "socialist civilization."

This assumption, in our opinion, directs attention to the taking into account, when examining both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the way of life, of its material and spiritual components. And hence it is incorrect to separate, and especially to oppose the concepts "the way of life" and "the standard of living." The improvement of the socialist way of life is inseparable from the purposeful increase of the material and cultural standard of living of the Soviet people, from the ideological and political education of the working people. "Soviet society," it is stated in the Decree of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "has entered that stage, when profound qualitative changes in the productive forces and the improvement of production relations, which corresponds to this, have grown ripe. The changes in the consciousness of the people and in the entire superstructure of society should also occur in close interconnection with this" [ibid., p 67].

We are proceeding on the basis that a QUALITATIVE-QUANTITATIVE nature is inherent in the concept "the way of life" as a sociological category which reflects the vital activity of people under the conditions of a given socioeconomic formation. The first, basic demarcation of qualitative and quantitative certainty follows from the teachings of Marx on socioeconomic formations and their natural succession in the course of the historical progress of mankind. During each given era the vital activity, the way of life of people is determined by the mode of production of material wealth and, thus, by both the level of development of productive forces and the nature of production relations. This general assumption also applies to the socialist way of life.

It is impossible to understand adequately the way of life of people without relying on the idea of the achieved level of the productive forces of society, that is, without knowing, by means of what means of production, what and in what quantity people produce and, consequently, consume: they live half-starving or are fed according to rational, scientifically sound norms; live cooped up in hovels, "tin can towns," do not have a roof at all over their head or live in houses with all conveniences, and under the conditions of settlement by separate families; in their majority are illiterate (or semi-literate) or have been taught the fundamentals of the sciences and so on. The concept THE STANDARD OF LIVING (we group here the indicators of not only the

material, but also the cultural level of the population) fixes mainly the level of consumption, which is taken in the broad sense of this word, including the sphere of services. In other words, this concept reflects THE QUANTITATIVE ASPECT OF THE WAY OF LIFE.

At the same time the way of life depends most directly on THE NATURE OF THE CONTACT BETWEEN PEOPLE, which is governed first of all by the economic system of society. A specific way of life is characteristic of each socioeconomic formation, the former, moreover, is essentially different for the exploitative minority and the exploited majority. While imposing its own way of life and thinking on all of society, the bourgeoisie all the same cannot do without its opposite--the proletariat, which owing to the objective situation (the need to sell manpower) with respect to the way of life differs significantly from the ruling class.

The socialist way of life differs in principle from the bourgeois way of life by the fact that the elimination of class antagonism makes this way of life common at its basis for all classes, social groups and strata, since socialism is a society of working people. Such most important traits of the socialist way of life as its labor nature, collectivism, moral health, internationalism and social optimism are determined by the domination of new, collectivistic social relations. In Marxist literature as applied to socialism the concept "the quality of life" is used for the designation of this new QUALITATIVE CERTAINTY OF THE WAY OF LIFE. The social climate characteristic precisely of socialism, "in which man does not know the agonizing feeling of uncertainty about tomorrow, in which the collectivistic spirit and comradely mutual assistance, moral health and social optimum dominate," is indicated in the article of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yu. V. Andropov, which is devoted to K. Marx. And further the following is stated: "In aggregate all this signifies a fundamentally new quality of life of the working masses, which by no means reduces to material comfort, but takes in the entire spectrum of robust human existence" [5].

The demarcation given above of the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the category "the way of life" in conformity with its dependence on the level of development of productive forces and the nature of production relations is, however, nothing more than THE STARTING POINT of the use of the categories of quality and quantity when characterizing the vital activity of people under specific historical conditions. Quality and quantity are the most general definitions of real objects and the relations between them and, moreover, are correlative categories, which can be understood only as the unity of opposites. Therefore, they are quite necessary when analyzing the qualitative (dictated by the nature of social relations) and quantitative (dictated by the state of productive forces, the level of consumption) aspects of the way of life. F. Engels, in criticizing the opposition of quality and quantity by (N. Negel), one of the representatives of metaphysical thought, noted that "there exist not qualities, but things which POSSESS [in italics] qualities, and infinitely many qualities" and "any quality has infinitely many quantitative gradations" [1].

The categories of quality and quantity are on the same order as the categories of essence and manifestation. And, just as essence has infinitely many

orders, so the qualitative differences have an infinite number of gradations. Thus, the differences between the capitalist and the communist formations are of one order, between the two phases of communism--of another, between the stages of the building of communism--of a third and so on. The present stage of mature socialism in the USSR undoubtedly has traits in common with the preceding stages, when socialism had been built for the most part. But at the same time between the socialist way of life of the Soviet people in the late 1930's and the early 1980's there is a significant qualitative difference, which concerns both of the mentioned aspects of the way of life. The social relations of mature socialism, which formed on its own collectivistic basis, have a FUNDAMENTAL INTEGRITY. And this also implies a new stage in the development of all the above-noted traits of the socialist way of life: collectivism, social optimism and so on.

In turning to the second aspect, which is called the quantitative aspect and found reflection in the standard of living, one should bear in mind that qualitative differences exist between the present level of the consumption of material and spiritual goods, which is characteristic of mature socialism, and the level of the late 1930's. The accomplishment of the Food Program will make it possible to raise the diet of the population to a new, higher level and to bring it closer to the scientifically sound norms. In other words, within the aspect, which was designated by us as the quantitative aspect, one should take into account the correlation of quality and quantity in each of the constantly developing components of the standard of living.

It is also necessary in another aspect to take into account the multilevel nature of the concept "qualitative differences." In this case it is a question of the connection of the categories "quality" and "quantity" with the categories of the general, the particular and the individual. The way of life, as has already been noted, is the way of life of a people during a specific historical era. What is characteristic of all classes (THE GENERAL), social groups and strata (THE PARTICULAR) and, finally, individuals, persons (THE INDIVIDUAL) is fixed in the concept in question. Thus, the socialist way of life of the Soviet people under present conditions, being common to all social groups (and nationalities), has its own peculiarities in the way of life of workers, kolkhoz farmers, the intelligentsia, different nations and nationalities. The significant differences between social groups are qualitative differences, but of a completely different rank, degree, depth than between the socialist and the bourgeois ways of life. As to individual persons, they, of course, have differences in the way of life, which most often (in order to stress the secondariness, chance of such peculiarities) are fixed by the terms "the style of life," "the manner of life."

That is why the attempts, which are encountered in our philosophical and sociological literature, to "turn upside down" in the interpretation of the way of life the correlation of the general and the individual, having placed in the forefront not the general, but the individual, seem illegitimate to us. Such an approach, in particular, is substantiated in the recent book of V. Zh. Kelle and M. Ya. Koval'zon [11]. Relying on the famous words of K. Marx "Man is the world of man," the slogan "Everything in the name of man, for the good of man" and so on, the authors propose to supplement the two usually mentioned basic aspects of the examination of the historical process with a third

one. Along with the characterization of the development of society as a natural scientific process and as a result of the activity of people, in which the dialectic interconnection of the objective and the subjective features of the development of society are fixed, Kelle and Koval'zon introduce the following feature: "the public opinion of people as a source of their individual development." However, this proposition is at variance with the most important thesis of historical materialism that the correlation of the objective and the subjective runs through the historical process as a whole, including the development of the individual. Hence it follows: one must not place in the same rank the differences within this integral process along the "objective-subjective" line and along the "society-individual" line, for the named categorical ranks have different logical bases.

Marxism, of course, is a humanistic theory, socialism is genuine humanism. But, while concentrating attention on the humanistic spirit in Marxism, the authors, unfortunately, sacrifice logic. This tells first of all when filling the scheme with a real content. What problems of historical materialism and accordingly what categories, besides the category "the individual," should be assigned to the "third aspect," and so that they would not be a subject of examination on the "the objective-the subjective" level? In reality, the concept "the way of life" turned out to be the only category of the general sociological theory of Marxism, which "was inserted" into the indicated scheme. In the book in question its following definition is given: "the specific nature of this category... consists in the fact that it reflects and expresses the form, the means of the active adoption by the individual of the social conditions of his life," it "characterizes the mode of the manifestation of the social in the individual" and acquires a categorical status only "in case of the analysis of the transition from the social to the individual" [11, p 191]. In the end, when the authors correctly turn to the correlation of the general, the particular and the individual under social conditions, they contradict themselves, by viewing the activity of people in reverse order, that is, not from society (through the era, the nation, the class) to the individual, but, on the contrary, from the individual to society. But the individual and the person were and will be the cluster of the social relations of their era, and the understanding of the means of development of a person at each given stage perforce requires the study of the social relations of this era. What has been said also fully applies to the activity aspect of human existence, which is reflected in the category "the way of life."

The further specification of the interaction of the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the socialist way of life, which is characterized in a most general outline, is a very complicated theoretical problem. When solving it one should first of all determine, which aspects of the vital activity of people should be taken as the BASIC, MOST ESSENTIAL ones, in other words, what the elements, which in their aggregate ensure a systems approach to the way of life, should be. And already on the basis of what has been done it is necessary to determine the quantitative indicators which could express most adequately each of the areas of the socialist way of life.

It is well known that labor activity is the most important component of the way of life of people in general and of the socialist way of life in particular. The qualitative aspect of labor under socialism is governed by the

nature of production relations, this is labor for itself, free, collective labor. But the nature of labor (just as of the way of life as a whole) is determined not only by the nature of social relations, but also by the level of development of productive forces. The latter perforce presumes the use of the categories of quality and quantity. Thus, in the national economy of our country the proportion of highly productive, mechanized labor is steadily increasing. At the same time for the present manual labor of comparatively low productivity still exists. The classification of the nature of labor is made, first, in accordance with its technical equipment and, second, in accordance with the complexity, skill. Each of these aspects of the process of labor, while having qualitative certainty, presumes a quantitative certainty which is associated with the given quality.

The choice of the system of indicators is necessary for the purposes of the forecasting and planning of the further development of socialist labor as a most important element of the way of life. This is a very complex problem, which is being worked on by economic science with the participation of sociology, since the attitude toward labor is studied within the framework of the latter. As is known, applied sociology uses the most diverse means of measuring the "subjective-objective" factor. And it is clear that without quantitative analysis the sociology of labor (just as any other area of sociology) cannot successfully study the social processes "within the jurisdiction" of it. Therefore, we cannot agree with the authors who express doubts about the applicability of quantitative methods when studying the quality of life.

Analogous problems also arise when analyzing other aspects of the way of life. How is one to characterize the state of health of the population? By the life expectancy? By the number of physicians per 1,000 people? By the level of environmental pollution? There are many indicators, which pertain to the state of health and reflect this element of the way of life, but the choice of one of them (or their combination according to a specific method into one consolidated indicator) is a very complex problem.

So far several models of the socialist way of life have been proposed in Soviet scientific literature. In our opinion, the following can be the basic "blocks" of such a model: 1) labor; 2) well-being, daily life; 3) education and culture; 4) the health of the population; 5) public political activity, civic activeness. Of course, when elaborating a model it is possible to proceed from a different system of "blocks," from a different division of the basic components. However, in any case each of the QUALITATIVELY defined areas of the socialist way of life should be represented by a set of interconnected quantitative indicators. However, the question of the construction of a system of indicators, which corresponds to the proposed (or another) scheme, goes beyond the framework of the problem posed in the article. Let us merely note that in all the mentioned "blocks" the most important thing is to reflect as accurately as possible the realities of mature socialism in the dialectic unity of the achievements and the unsolved or not completely solved problems. The party is directing the attention of scholars to this.

At present the importance of the studies of such important and at the same time complicated, multifaceted and contradictory aspects of the way of life as ideological educational activity and socialist competition is increasing. Accordingly, the responsibility of sociologists for the elaboration of methods

of their qualitative analysis, the starting point of which is indicators which guarantee the reliability of the obtaining of the corresponding information and, hence, of the conclusions from it, is increasing. In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Improvement of the Organization and the Practice of the Tallying of the Result of Socialist Competition and the Stimulation of Its Winners" it is indicated: "It is necessary to use more extensively the educational force of competition. To create in each collective an atmosphere of great creative activeness, demandingness and discipline, such economic and organizational conditions, which would stimulate high-quality, productive, conscientious labor, the initiative and responsibility of people. To link economic training at enterprises more closely with socialist competition, to form among its participants the ability to identify reserves, to see their own possibilities as compared with the best examples of labor, to substantiate the personal and collective socialist obligations and counterplans."

The implementation of this fruitful idea about the closest interconnection and reciprocal influence of all the aspects of the socialist way of life requires not only the theoretical study of this problem, but also the thorough consideration of its complexity in the process of preparing and carrying out research projects. Only on this condition will we be able to step up scientific research and to increase systematically the qualitative efficiency of our science, as the decree of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum envisages.

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NATURE OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

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[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Boris Andreyevich Grushin, chief of the Laboratory of the Systems Analysis of Cultural Information Processes of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Systems Research of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Structure and Composition of Social Consciousness"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in italics in source]

[Text] "The party and the state expect from economists, philosophers, historians, sociologists, psychologists and lawyers elaborations of reliable means of the increase of production efficiency, studies of the laws of the formation of a classless structure of society, the internationalization of social life, the development of socialist democracy, social consciousness, the problems of communist education."

From the materials of the June (1983)
CPSU Central Committee Plenum

The increase of the effectiveness of ideological educational work is an important task, which has been placed by the party on the agenda of the development of our society at the stage of mature socialism. A significant distinctive feature of the present statement of this task is its connection with the

In publishing the article of B. A. Grushin, the editorial board asks specialists to express their opinion on the theses advanced by the author.

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study and extension of the SCIENTIFIC basis proper of ideological and propaganda activity.

Soviet social sciences, particularly philosophy and sociology, are actively participating in the accomplishment of the task posed by the party. Here the close attention of researchers to the various aspects of the ideological processes occurring in society has revealed many questions which have been inadequately elaborated theoretically. Among them are the problems which concern the structural characteristics of social consciousness. As is known, the latter is in a complex relationship with ideology, the set of moral political views, norms and models of behavior. While including them as one of the "forms," "spheres" of its own existence, social consciousness acts at the same time as an object of ideological, educational influence. Hence the direct connection of its theoretical analysis with the solution of the indicated practical problems of the development of socialist society.

In Soviet philosophical and sociological literature there are many books and articles devoted to the problem in question, particularly those of G. M. Gak, G. Ye. Glezerman, V. Zh. Kelle and M. Ya. Koval'zon, A. K. Uledov and others. However, in spite of the obtained results, in the study of social consciousness the main question so far remains unsettled: What is this subject from the point of view of its very "flesh"--the specific, simple and complex, formations, which form a part of it and which usually are vaguely called "components," "elements," "forms," "kinds," "spheres" and so on?

Apparently, it has been settled least of all today with respect to the simplest, most elementary components of social consciousness, which cannot be broken down further, although a loud alarm concerning this was heard back in 1967, when E. V. Sokolov stated: "So far the simple, functionally uniform particles of social consciousness, that is, the 'elements' in the true sense, are being vaguely distinguished..." [7]. Since then the situation, alas, in principle has not changed. As before, each of the authors is grouping with the simplest ones his own "set," including of by no means elementary components of social consciousness, in which "views," "notions," "theories," "feelings," "ideas," "tastes," "appraisals," "habits," "interests," "moods" and so on and so forth--there is a very large number of them--appear in different combinations.

The understanding of some complex formations or others within the system in question is also noted by significant differences. It would seem that although the problems of the forms of social consciousness (in the narrow sense of this word) have been elaborated in detail in the literature, there are also many controversial questions here. For example, in the book of Kelle and Koval'zon "Formy obshchestvennogo soznaniya" [The Forms of Social Consciousness], which has already become a reader, it is a question of seven such forms: political ideology, a sense of justice, morals, religion, science, art and philosophy [8]. In the book of Gak "Ucheniye ob obshchestvennom soznanii v svete teorii poznaniya" [The Doctrine of Social Consciousness in Light of the Theory of Cognition] one encounters the assertion: "the classics of Marxism-Leninism group with the forms of social consciousness political views and doctrines, legal, moral, religious, artistic, philosophical. But nowhere is science (it is all the same whether it is natural or social science) formed into a special form of social consciousness" [9, p 91]. As to the article of

A. G. Spirkin "Consciousness" in "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" [A Philosophical Encyclopedia], the forms of social consciousness are spoken about twice, here in one case the same seven forms as in the book of Kelle and Koval'zon are mentioned, in the other although seven are again mentioned, they are already slightly different ones--without political views, but with the addition of social psychology [10, pp 47, 43].

The situation with respect to the macrostructure of the system in question as a whole is also similar. Thus, the authors of the book "V labirintakh burzhuaznogo soznaniya" [In the Labyrinths of Bourgeois Consciousness] assert that social consciousness is "the sum of the theoretical and spontaneous... ideological ideas which exist during each era" [11], thereby completely identifying the consciousness of society with ideology. Kelle and Koval'zon distinguish in the structure of social consciousness, along with ideology, cognition proper [8, pp 11-13]. In the opinion of Gak, in this structure "one must differentiate social psychology and ideology," and ideology is equated by him with "the logical stage of cognition," so that "it is entirely possible to replace the term 'ideology' with the term 'theory'" [9, pp 3, 42, 49].¹

In short, at all the levels of analysis there is a quite contradictory picture. And closer acquaintance with it reveals that it records not simply the differences in the opinion of researchers, but something more, namely: a difference in the very approaches to the subject being analyzed, noncoincidence in the directions of its study, in the systems of coordinates, which are used for its structuring; moreover, nothing other than the objective properties of social consciousness itself lie behind all this. Evaluated from the standpoint of its components, it actually is an extremely, it can even be said, unprecedentedly complex system. And its main complication consists not in the significant QUANTITY of the elementary formations which are included in it as such, but in the extreme abundance of the specific forms of their manifestation in the combinations with each other, that is, in the "intricacy" of their RELATIONS, in the diversity of their QUALITATIVE CHARACTERISTICS, which can be identified only on the condition of the repeated breaking down of the given system with the use of the most different bases of division.

For example, Uledov proposed four breakdowns of social consciousness: according to its "kinds," "spheres," "types" and "states." In the first case it is a question of the distinction in the structure of the system being studied of the moral, political, legal, religious, esthetic and philosophical consciousnesses; in the second--of the distinction in it of social psychology, ideology and science; in the third--of the historical types of social consciousness, which correspond to the basic stages of the development of human society; in the fourth--of some aggregate characteristics of social consciousness as a whole, as well as its individual (apparently, the largest?) formations [13]. However, those, who are familiar at all with the literature, know that the named "sections" far from exhaust all the existing (and especially those permissible in principle) directions of the analysis of the system in question. Including on the global level of its breakdown, that is, the level which concerns the system as a whole. Thus, Spirkin distinguishes in it apart from all else, first, the knowledge proper of reality and, second, several formations, particularly emotions, which express the attitude of a person toward this reality [10, pp 45, 46]. In many other instances some types of consciousness or others are

distinguished subject to the genesis (the place and time of origin) of its components, on the basis of the peculiarities of its content (the object of reflection), the means of emergence, the subject-bearers of consciousness, its social functions, the attitude toward the "thoughts" which dominate in society (official and unofficial consciousness) and so on and so forth.

The picture as a whole becomes even more pluralistic with the transition to the subglobal level of the examination of the system, since each of its initially distinguished macroformations presumes in turn, as a rule, again not one, but several different bases of division. For example, in the sphere of "reflecting consciousness" ("knowledge") there are traditionally distinguished, first, two levels--the so-called everyday and theoretical consciousnesses, and, second, subject to the nature ("quality") of the reflection of reality, the true, false and transformed forms (elements) of consciousness. And the more deeply we descend "vertically" into the structure of the system and the more thoroughly we examine each of the "horizontal" strata of its structure, the fewer the number of characteristics each component of it begins to have, the poorer its connections with the other elements of the system become and the more complicated it is, consequently, to distinguish this component in "pure" form and to consolidate it in the corresponding abstraction.

Such a movement from the concrete to the abstract, which was described by Marx and has as its IMMEDIATE TASK the distinction of a certain number of the most simple, elementary in the true sense of the word, components of the system, as is known, is not an end in itself. This is nothing more than a stage of the entire study, an necessary prerequisite for the accomplishment of the reverse direction--the climb from the abstract to the concrete, only by means of which it is possible to achieve the ULTIMATE GOAL--to reproduce the concrete in all the richness of its real, empirically discernible forms [1, p 727]. But whereas the synthesis, which completes the work, is impossible without a preliminary analysis, the analysis which begins it, in order to be successful, should bear in mind its ultimate goal, in particular, it should be carried out in conformity with methods and rules, which would guarantee the success of the entire undertaking.

Unfortunately, the researchers studying the structure of social consciousness for their most part, as a rule, even do not see the problem of synthesis, which faces theory. And if they do see it, they try not to undertake its solution, confining their tasks to some "parallel" (nonintersecting) analytic breakdowns of the system or others. "In Marxist philosophy," Uledov notes, "the existence of a close interconnection of the types, spheres of consciousness... and thereby its integrity are acknowledged. But the integrity of social consciousness is not properly revealed in our literature, which it is possible to judge already from the fact that the ascertainment of the interaction of the kinds of consciousness does not go farther than the analysis of the connection of some pairs or groups of consciousness or others. In case of such an analysis the activity of social consciousness, taken as a whole, remains unrevealed" [13, p 253]. What is true, is true! Moreover, even a kind of timidity in the solution of this problem is observed among many researchers. Not by chance was there quoted simultaneously some time ago in many articles and books the opinion of one Yerevan philosopher, who frightened himself and others: social consciousness, he said, cannot "be broken down by little shelves" as some

material substance. And who would argue with this! Of course, THIS WAY is impossible. But ANOTHER WAY is possible. And, what is the main thing, it is necessary--because without such a "breakdown" no systems analysis is possible at all, no science is possible. How one is to "break down" social consciousness, into precisely what "little shelves" and in what way one is then to put them all together, is another matter.

During the discussion of these questions many researchers came to the conclusion that even before making any specific breakdowns of social consciousness on one basis or another it is necessary to distinguish two fundamental aspects of its analysis--the gnoseological and the sociological. We find the most detailed substantiation of such an approach, a thorough examination of the essence of the named aspects in the works of Uledov, whose great service was, apart from all else, the focusing of the attention of researchers on the social problems proper of social consciousness. "The gnoseological aspect, in his opinion, is the examination of the basic questions of the theory of cognition as applied to social cognition. The sociological aspect is the analysis of social consciousness, which holds a specific place in the system of society and performs specific functions in social life. The gnoseological aspect makes it possible to reveal primarily the movement from reality to consciousness, the origin of ideas and views, while the sociological aspect makes it possible to reveal the transition from consciousness to reality, the realization of ideas and views in the life of society" [13, pp 34, 35].

How should one treat these opinions? In my opinion, if as a whole one treats them positively, it should be with very significant reservations. The very fact of the existence in social consciousness of distinguishable aspects and, consequently, the fundamental possibility of the preferential analysis of the object in any of the named aspects cannot arouse doubts. As to the "watershed" between them, it needs, of course, more precise definitions. The point is that the reflection of reality by social consciousness includes not only the "gnoseological level," but also a large number of different social features: it is accomplished under specific social conditions, in specifically social forms, by means of mechanisms which are realized in the process of the social activity of people (especially if it is a question of different kinds of institutional means of the generation, origination of social consciousness), and so on. In much the same way the active influence of consciousness on social life also cannot be understood without the consideration of its specific nature as a spiritual formation proper. Therefore the boundary, which is drawn in the directions of movement "from reality to consciousness" and "from consciousness to reality," in spite of the stipulated "primarily," is incorrect. Both directions require the involvement of both the gnoseological and the sociological analysis of the subject in question. Consequently, the peculiarities of the named aspects must be seen in something else. Most likely, they are connected with the fact that social consciousness, on the one hand, is CONSCIOUSNESS and therefore in ANY form of its existence, in ANY act of its emergence and functioning is endowed with the characteristics of IDEAL CONSCIOUSNESS; on the other hand, it is a SUBSYSTEM OF SOCIETY, that is, a social phenomenon, of which (again IN ALL CASES) characteristics, which distinguish it precisely as a specifically SOCIAL manifestation, are typical.

When analyzing some forms or others, some means or others of the functioning, the manifestation of social consciousness, the researcher, of course, can--subject to the tasks and circumstances--devote primary attention to either the gnoseological or social aspect of the matter. However, from this it does not follow that the named aspects are objectively more characteristic of some forms of the existence and functioning of consciousness than of others, or that they are characteristic only of some forms of consciousness and are not characteristic at all of others. "Gnoseology" and "sociology," which it is a question of here, are not relatively independent, be it closely interconnected, "PARTS" (elements, forms and so on) of the system in question, but its united PROPERTIES, which do not exist side by side and the identification of which is possible only in abstraction.

From this follows the second, apparently, even more significant reservation, which concerns the opinion in question. It touches on the understanding of the gnoseological and sociological aspects of the analysis within the framework of the study of the structure of social consciousness. According to Uledov, "the structure of consciousness in these cases will be different.... In the first case in the structure there are distinguished formations which differ in their peculiarities of reflection, while in the latter--formations which differ according to their social functions.... In the gnoseological aspect feelings, perceptions, notions, concepts and the sensual, volitional and rational formations similar to them act as the simplest structural elements of consciousness. In the sociological aspect knowledge, opinions, convictions, norms, symbols and values act as them" [13, pp 6, 48].

In my opinion, such a solution of the problem is categorically unacceptable. The gnoseological and sociological aspects are nothing more than emphases in the analysis of some formations of social consciousness or others, therefore it is in no way possible to use them for the distinction, the construction of independent--"gnoseological" and "sociological"--structures of the system which interests us. Within the latter structure there is distinguished, for example, "knowledge" in contrast to "the concept," which is ostensibly characteristic only of the first structure. However, it is not hard to reveal that assertions of such a kind are akin to sophistry. Does knowledge not really coincide, in particular, with the aggregate of concepts or even one concept? Or why is the "symbol" present in this classification only in the "social" structure of consciousness and absent in the "gnoseological" structure, although traditionally it appears in the theory of cognition as one of the means of the recording and designation of the content which is reflected by consciousness? On closer examination it is impossible to find any satisfactory answers to these and similar questions. And this is natural, since the gnoseological and sociological aspects of analysis do not have any bearing on the task of the structuring of social consciousness and the distinction in its body of some components or others.

Moreover, I would like to direct attention to another, rather a formal, but at the same time essential feature which is connected with the specification of the concept "structure." Can, one would like to know, one systems object or another have several structures? Not at all. The structure is the same. Of course, in case of the description of complicated, developing objects their structure will inevitably be distinguished by a complex composition, as a

result of which the possibility and even the necessity arise to speak of this structure not only as applied to the object "in general and as a whole," but also as applied to its different kinds of "horizontal" and "vertical" parts--sections, levels, stages of development and so on. But from this it does not at all follow that such a object will have a large number of structures. On the contrary, it is, I repeat, the same.

The reader may ask: But what about society? Are we really, having it in mind, not speaking about the economic, social, political, spiritual and other structures as some independent, "parallel" formations? We are. But in case of a strict approach it is a question here not of one, but of different objects. Society as a whole and, for example, its basis or political superstructure are by no means the same thing. Society is a complex system which consists of a number of subsystems, and the concepts "the economic structure of society," "the political structure of society" and so forth characterize precisely the latter. Meanwhile society as a whole--precisely as an integral formation, as a broader system--has its own structure which is different from the structures of the subsystems which form it. As is known, according to Marx's definition, this structure includes the relations between the base, the superstructure and the consciousness of society [2].

The situation with social consciousness is also similar. The large formations, which are a part of it and are of a systems nature, have their own structure. Therefore we speak with good reason about the structure of ideological, religious consciousness and so on. However, this entire set of structures is not the structures of social consciousness as such, but the structures of the subsystems which form it. In this connection it would be possible to assert that social consciousness has two structures--a "gnoseological" and a "social"--only in one case, if the aspects of the object in question, which are the basis for this distinction, were in reality relatively independent subsystems, like social psychology or ideology.

The stated remark is by no means a captious objection which is of a purely terminological nature. The problem of the structuring of a systems object, which is assigned to the class of typically LOGICAL problems, requires great strictness in the definition of concepts and their use. Here, alas, the formula of practical reason: though you call it a pot, do not put in it the oven! does not work. On the contrary, while striving for the distinction, the construction of a single structure of an object, we should see as clearly as possible the nature and all the facets of the interrelations between the different formations which are included in it. Moreover, the very choice of the bases of the division, the operations on classification, which are carried out on their basis, as well as the different typologies of consciousness, which emerge as a result of the latter--all this should obey several immutable logical rules, so that social consciousness in the end would, first, be reproduced in the form of a truly systems object and, second, be understood (explained) in its basis specific manifestations.

Of course, here is not the place to dwell specially on these rules--such a digression would lead us too far aside. However, it is still necessary to mention if only several of them and if only in brief.

First, the choice of one basis of division or another is accompanied by the precise formulation of the meaning, the essence of this basis and the determination of the attributes and characteristics of the object, which are at its base, so that no problems would arise with the drawing of the boundaries between the types which are distinguished in this manner. It is incorrect, for example, to speak of the breakdown of social consciousness into some "kinds" or "spheres" or others, without having answered in advance the question, what, strictly speaking, is understood by both, about precisely what attributes of consciousness (one or several) is it a question here--in other words, without having determined, by what some "kinds" ("spheres") of consciousness in reality differ from others, where the boundaries between them run.

Second, each basis of division should be strictly oriented with respect to the actual boundaries of the object being broken down, that is, should be evaluated from the point of view of its relevance to the system as a whole or to one "part" of the system or another, so that it would not be "too broad" or "too narrow" with respect to the object. It is incorrect, for example, to use when structuring social consciousness on a global scale (like the system as a whole) such a basis of division as the level of consciousness: the two types of consciousness, which are distinguishable on its basis--everyday and theoretical--are not universal and do not cover the entire "space" of the existence of social consciousness and pertain only to specific "sections" of this "space" (like positive knowledge, science and so forth), without touching on a large number of others (for example, religion, morals, art).

Third, each basis of division should ensure the necessary completeness and mutual exclusiveness of the types being distinguished, so that no component of the object (within the given boundaries of its examination) would be outside the made classification, as well as could not be grouped at the same time with several types. It is incorrect, for example, to link the traditionally discernible forms of social consciousness (political ideology, morals and so forth) with such a characteristic of consciousness as the subject (object) of reflection, understanding by the latter the different spheres of life of society. Given such a breakdown of the system a number of distinguishable types of consciousness prove, on the one hand, to be incomplete (since in the composition of society there appear spheres of its life, which do not find reflection in the corresponding forms of consciousness, for example, economics, culture, daily life and so on) and, on the other, to permit the intersection of different types (since some traditionally discernible forms of consciousness lack their "own" subject of reflection, so that they "divide" between themselves the same spheres of life of society, as, for example, religion and morals or religion and art).

Fourth, in case of the construction of a multivariate (that is, which takes into account simultaneously two and more bases of division) typology of the object, the latter should be broken down in succession by each of the accepted bases separately, so that the multivariate typology would appear as the result of the "addition" (the superposing on each other) of two and more univariate, linear typologies. It is incorrect, for example, to assert that the traditionally distinguishable forms of social consciousness differ from each other simultaneously by the subject (or object) which they reflect, the form (or method) of their reflection, the peculiarities of their development,

their role in the life of society and so on, without initially having examined each of the named bases of division and without having made in conformity with them univariate breakdowns of social consciousness.

Fifth, when constructing a multivariate typology of the object the combining of the linear series should be carried out according to the matrix principle, so that all the possible combinations (intersections) of the components of the attributes of the object would appear in the set of components of the system, which is distinguished in this manner (at the given level and within the given boundaries of its examination). It is incorrect, for example, when combining as universal attributes such attributes of social consciousness as "the nature of the reflection of reality" (which involves the distinction of the real and false forms of consciousness) and "the attitude of consciousness toward reality" (which involves, in particular, the breakdown of reflecting consciousness proper and opinions), to assign all the values of the former only to a portion of the values of the latter (without extending them, say, to opinions).²

What has been said is sufficient to understand that the analytical breakdown of social consciousness into a set of abstract (univariate) typologies and its subsequent reproduction in the form of an integral group of specific (multivariate) forms are in reality an extremely difficult problem. Its more or less complete solution is possible only on the basis of the collective efforts of a large number of researchers, with the mandatory use of the latest electronic equipment, which makes it possible to model extremely complex systems with allowance made for a large number of variables and all possible combinations between them. However, within the framework of the construction of the individual FRAGMENTS of the overall structure of social consciousness the problem seems, of course, considerably more practicable. The writer of these lines made an attempt at such a solution of it during the 1967/68 school year in a series of lectures for graduate students of the Journalism Faculty of Moscow State University, and at that time it was a question not of the analysis of social consciousness "in general," but of its purposeful structuring from the point of view of the subsequent examination of the phenomenon of mass consciousness.

Keeping this goal in mind, in social consciousness at the very "bottom," fundamental level of its breakdown it is necessary to distinguish first of all the numerous formations which pertain to the different METHODS (MEANS) OF THE SPIRITUAL ASSIMILATION OF REALITY BY MAN. According to Marx and Engels, the latter differ from the methods of the practical subjective assimilation of the world and include at least three extremely broad types (classes) of elements of consciousness: I--the subjective sensual (emotional figurative) forms of consciousness; II--the abstract logical (rational) forms of consciousness and III--the fantastic (irrational in the broad sense of the word) forms of consciousness.

It is possible, apparently, to assign to type I, which we will call social psychology, such components of social consciousness as sensual images, perceptions, habits, tastes, feelings (emotions), volitional impulses, prejudices (or, perhaps, it is better to say: biases?), moods, practical knowledge and so forth.

Within the framework of type II, which we will call social knowledge, it is possible to distinguish, most likely, such elements of social consciousness as notions, concepts, judgements (neutral, or positive, statements), norms, opinions, preferences, value orientations and so forth.

It is possible, evidently, to assign to type III--the least analyzed in the theory of cognition and sociology--such components of social consciousness as religious beliefs, fantastic images, utopian ideas, irrational notions and so on. Characterizing mythology, which belongs here, Marx stressed that it "predominates, subordinates and forms the forces of nature in the imagination or by means of imagination" [1, p 737], therefore, this type of consciousness can be call social imagination.³

The reader has very likely noticed that the reservations "apparently," "most likely" and "evidently" are present in each of the three cases of the enumeration of the corresponding elements of consciousness. This is connected with the fact that the inclusion in the different classes (types) of some components or others is frequently the subject of debates and requires special examination in each individual case. For example, Uledov groups among the simplest elements of social consciousness, apart from all else, sensations; in my opinion, it is hardly possible to speak of any social (collective, group, of society as a whole and so on) sensation, this is a form of individual, and not social consciousness. On the other hand, following Uledov, I also name among the elements of social psychology perception and volitional impulses, but such a decision is also viewed differently by social psychologists [14]. In short, it is a question here not of characterizing the components of social consciousness in a manner which is exhaustive and, what is the main thing, "suits everyone." The above-cited lists of them and the ones following them are nothing more than specific examples which play the role of illustrations when describing the corresponding types (classes) of social consciousness.

I would also like to make a no less important remark with respect to the terminology which is being used here for the designation of the different types (classes) of elements of social consciousness. Conforming in general and as a whole to the traditions of the analysis of a subject, which exist in the literature, it contains at the same time many nuances which reveal that it is a question at times of a different interpretation of the phenomena in question. Thus, the first proposed breakdown of the system outwardly is very reminiscent of the customary distinction "social psychology--social ideology." In reality, however, substantial differences exist here. First, not two, but three classes of elements of social consciousness appear in the proposed typology. Second, the class of so-called abstract logical, rational forms of consciousness is also designated by, perhaps, not the most apt, but at any rate the obviously more abstract term "social knowledge" instead of the obviously imprecise, multivariate term "social ideology," which is used in Marxism for the designation of not simply "the logical stage of cognition" (as for Gak), not simply any, all sorts of "concepts" and "ideas" (as for Porshnev), but first of all those "concepts" and "ideas," which have a pronounced class nature and are painted in class tones. Finally, the distinguished types at the given (initial) level of the analysis characterize the simplest, "abstract" formations of social consciousness and therefore record not the "stages" or "levels" ("lowest" and "highest") of the latter, but the "equal" classes of

its components, which do not function in real consciousness "separately," apart from each other and form in their combinations diverse "specific" forms of social consciousness, including those which can be described in the form of different kinds of macroformations and be interpreted as its different "stages" and "levels."

It is not difficult to reveal that the approach being demonstrated, including by virtue of the specification of the terminology, which is connected with the problem of the repeated breaking down of the system, makes it possible to overcome more than one difficulty which now exists in the field of the study of social consciousness. Thus, it creates favorable conditions for the adequate understanding of the place and the correlations with the other forms in the structure of social consciousness of such complex formations of it as, say, class consciousness (which includes different kinds of rational and irrational forms and is realized at the level of both everyday and professionalized consciousness) or everyday consciousness (which pertains to all three methods of the spiritual assimilation of reality by man--social psychology, social knowledge and social imagination--and "is opposed" by no means to ideology or theory, but namely professionalized consciousness). In a similar manner it completely eliminates the bases for "reproaches" on the part of social psychologists with regard to the "unjust" assignment of social psychology to the lowest stage of cognition [15], since it is found that social psychology is by no means a synonym of everyday consciousness. And so on.

Let us return, however, to the problems of the structuring of social consciousness. Its next fundamental breakdown, which pertains to the same very "bottom" level of its analysis as in the first case, takes into account THE NATURE OF THE INTERRELATIONS OF CONSCIOUSNESS WITH REALITY and makes it possible also to distinguish in its structure three extremely abstract types (classes) of its formations: A--the forms of consciousness, which reflect reality; B--the forms of consciousness, which express the evaluative attitude toward reality; C--the forms of consciousness, which coincide with active reaction to reality.

Such elements of the system in question (from among the ones already mentioned above) as concepts, positive judgements, utopian ideas, some images or others pertain, obviously, to type A, which we will call reflective consciousness; such elements as tastes, opinions and ideas pertain to type B, which it would be possible to call evaluative consciousness; such elements as emotions, norms, moods and so on pertain to type C--reactive consciousness.

Both of the cited typologies are linear. Their combination, superposing on each other forms 3×3 , that is, 9 two-dimensional types (classes) of components of social consciousness, namely IA, IB, IC, IIA, IIB, IIC, IIIA, IIIB, IIIC. Such elements of the system as sensual images and perceptions, obviously, will be in class IA (reflective social psychology); habits and tastes--in class IB (evaluative social psychology); emotions (feelings), moods and volitional impulses--in class IC (reactive social psychology); notions, concepts and positive judgements--in class IIA (which is frequently called cognitive consciousness); opinions and preferences--in class IIB (it is possible to call it evaluative knowledge), and so on.

It is possible to take as the third fundamental breakdown of social consciousness, which pertains to the same level of its analysis, the breakdown which takes into account the METHODS (or perhaps it is better to say: nature?) OF THE EMERGENCE, THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS. In conformity with this basis within the system it is possible to distinguish two extremely broad types (classes) of its elements: a--the forms of consciousness, which emerge spontaneously, in an elemental way, which are, to use the expression of Marx, the simple "fumes" of the material life process [4]; b--the forms of consciousness, which emerge as a result of the purposeful, realized, specialized activity of different kinds of social institutions, organizations and groups of people.

The combination of these two types of consciousness--elemental and institutional--with the previously distinguished ones will yield a 3X3 matrix structure of the system in question, which will include 18 different types of components of consciousness, starting with IAa--the elemental forms of reflective social psychology--and ending with IIICb--the institutional forms of reactive imagination.

Diagram. The Components (Types of Elements) of Social Consciousness Subject to the Methods of Assimilation of Reality by Consciousness, the Nature of Its Attitude Toward Reality and the Methods of Emergence

	A Reflective consciousness	B Evaluative consciousness	C Reactive consciousness	
I Social psychology	IAa	IBa	ICa	a
	IAb	IBb	ICb	b
II Social knowledge	IIAa	IIBa	IICa	a
	IIAb	IIBb	IICb	b
III Social imagination	IIIAa	IIIBa	IIICa	a
	IIIAb	IIIBb	IIICb	b

a--Elemental consciousness; b--Institutional consciousness

All these components, which are represented in the diagram, are, as before, not complex, not constituent, but the simplest elementary formations of social consciousness. In essence, these are the same elements which were enumerated when characterizing types I-III,⁴ but now, owing to the identification of their third attribute, they receive, on the one hand, a specific concrete expression and, on the other, a more precise place in the system as a whole. Each of them, as has already been said, at different, "higher," levels of examination of the system is invariably connected with other ones, is a part of different kinds of complex, "specific" forms of social consciousness, which are precisely some combinations or others of the simplest elements. At the same time all of them

not only are given to us in abstraction, but can also be recorded, so to speak, "in free form," as independent morphemes of social consciousness. Thus, for example, in class IIAa we find formations which coincide with the same axioms of popular wisdom, which, in the words of Lenin, emerge on the basis of the practical activity of man as a result of the repetition by a billion times in the consciousness of "various logical figures" [5], while in class IIAb--various suggestions which are a part of science, and so on.

The situation being described is also maintained in case of the subsequent complication of the picture, which is connected with the further subdivision of the "cells" of the system on the basis of the inclusion in the analysis of new bases of its division. Thus, in the process of the structuring of social consciousness, which was undertaken by me in the mentioned lectures at the Journalism Faculty of Moscow State University, in addition to the named categories three other categories were taken into account: THE ATTITUDE OF CONSCIOUSNESS TOWARD THE "THOUGHTS" DOMINATING IN SOCIETY, THE QUALITY (DEGREE OF ACCURACY) OF THE REFLECTION OF REALITY BY CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE LEVEL OF REFLECTION OF REALITY BY CONSCIOUSNESS. The first of these bases was also of a global nature, that is, it pertained to the system in question as a whole; in conformity with it in each of the types of consciousness (see the diagram), two more subtypes each--so-called official and unofficial consciousness⁵--were distinguished, as a result of which the total number of elements of the system increased to 36. The second basis, which had in mind the nature of the cognitive ability of social consciousness, pertained only to type A and was connected with the distinction in it of so-called true, false and transformed forms. Finally, the third basis, which is relevant only with respect to type II, was connected with the distinction in it of two subtypes, which were grouped with the empirical and theoretical levels of the reflection of reality by consciousness.

In all 80 types of elements of social consciousness were present in the multi-dimensional matrix which was obtained in this way. And this was not the limit of the possible breakdown of the system in question. The introduction in the analysis of another basis of its global division--one which takes into account the TYPE OF SUBJECT OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS--automatically increased the number of classes of elementary components of the system by a number of times, which is equal to the number of distinguishable carriers of consciousness, although, perhaps, here by no means all of the theoretically permissible "cells" of the structure could be "filled in" without difficulty with the corresponding empirical models.

FOOTNOTES

1. B. F. Porshnev, according to whom "social consciousness consists not only of ideology, that is, theories, world outlooks, systems, but also of psychology" [12], also adhered to similar views.
2. The incorrectness of the classification in this case consists not in the incompleteness of the matrix combination of the two indicated attributes (since opinions, as such, in reality cannot be classified along the "truth"- "lie" axis), but in the very declaration of the first attribute as

universal, that is, as characterizing all the components of social consciousness without exception.

3. In differentiating the second and third types of social consciousness, Marx wrote: "Just as ancient peoples experienced their past history in imagination, in MYTHOLOGY, we Germans are experiencing our history in thoughts, IN PHILOSOPHY.... German philosophy is a CONTINUATION of German history IN IDEA" [3].
4. It should be noted that the appraisal of some of them as the simplest, elementary components of the system in question is quite conditional and also needs serious substantiations. For example, the above-mentioned norms and religious beliefs are rather complex, constituent formations of social consciousness than simple one, which cannot be further broken down. In such a case they cannot be placed in some "cells" or others of the cited scheme, but should be constructed at the intersection of two and more components, which have been assigned to some "cells" or others.
5. At times in the literature official and unofficial consciousness are regarded as identical respectively to institutional and elemental consciousness. In reality, however, different bases of division are the basis for both types, therefore, they do not coincide with each other. It is well known, in particular, that the extreme forms of unofficial consciousness in capitalist society--so-called oppositional consciousness--develop not only spontaneously, but also institutionally (as a result of the efforts of the ideologists and organizations, which oppose the ruling classes). On the other hand, not only institutional, but also elemental consciousness in a large number of cases reproduce there the meaningful formulas of typically official consciousness (see, in particular, [6]).

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THE EXPERIENCE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF SOCIOLOGICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

REGIONAL SECTORIAL APPROACH TO MANPOWER RESOURCES

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[Article by Candidate Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and First Secretary of the Lvov Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Viktor Fedorovich Dobrik: "The Comprehensive Approach to the Formation and Use of Manpower Resources"]

[Text] "We must learn, when drawing up our economic plans, to take thoroughly into account and reflect in them the most important factors of the development of society--social, national, demographic. This should be the common policy of the party, the common strategy of social development."

From the materials of the June (1983)
CPSU Central Committee Plenum

The increase of the efficiency of social production is a most important economic and political task. The program of the all-round increase of the well-being of the people can be successfully implemented only on this basis. "Everything--the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the improvement of the structure of social production, the improvement of planning and management, the increase of the level of management should be subordinate" to its accomplishment, it was stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress [1]. Such is the strategic policy of the party, which underwent further development at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. In his speech at the plenum General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yu. V. Andropov noted: "We must learn, when drawing up our economic plans, to take thoroughly into account and reflect in them the most important factors of the development of society--social, national, demographic" [2]. Among these factors an

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exceptionally important place belongs to the efficient use of manpower resources.

A comprehensive, regional sectorial approach was the basis for the solution of the problem in Lvov Oblast. The idea of using precisely such an approach originated back during the 9th Five-Year Plan when developing the comprehensive system of product quality control. The most important scientific and technical goal programs for the development of the economy of the oblast, which were aimed at the elaboration of methods and means of the exploration for and extraction of minerals, the development of highly productive machinery, equipment, instruments and highly efficient new processing methods, were formed during the 10th Five-Year Plan. The oblast party organization united the efforts of scientific, planning and design and production collectives for the creation of interdepartmental special-purpose scientific production associations and on their basis interdepartmental scientific production complexes.

The first interdepartmental complexes (geological-geophysical, machine building, instrument making and agricultural) showed that a highly effective form of the accomplishment of national economic tasks has been found. At the same time it became clear: one must not limit oneself to the solution of only technical problems. The need arose for the creation of an interdepartmental socioeconomic complex, in which the basic attention would be devoted to man, to the organization of his labor. And then in accordance with a decision of the oblast party committee at the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan such a complex was created. Three interdepartmental scientific production associations, which operate as a public service--the Obrazovaniye, Rekreatsiya and Trud Associations--were included here.

The activity of the Obrazovaniye Association is aimed at increasing the efficiency of the management of the educational and training process in the secondary school. The program envisages a set of psychological, pedagogical, socioeconomic and organizational measures, which ensure the increase of the quality of educational, training and ideological work, the improvement of the vocational guidance of graduates, the improvement of the organization of the labor of teachers and so on. The schools of Drogobychskogo Rayon, where subsystems of the management of the process of training, extracurricular educational work, in-school supervision and checking have already been introduced as an experiment, are the base schools. The implementation of the program has been coordinated with the decisions of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Specialists of different types and departments belong to the Rekreatsiya Scientific Production Association. The activity of the association is being organized on the basis of the goal program "The Efficient Use and Optimization of the Recreational Potential of the Carpathians." The need for the drafting of this program stems from the development of sports and tourism and the enlargement of the network of sanatoriums, holiday hotels, holiday homes, which requires the detailed study of recreational resources. According to preliminary calculations, it is possible to additionally locate 15 specialized sanatoriums with 8,500 places, 30 general health holiday hotels and 27 holiday homes on the territory of the Carpathian region without detriment to the alpine nature. The optimum capacity of the recreational territories of the Ukrainian Carpathians is 11 million people.

The comprehensive goal program of the increase of the efficiency of the use of manpower resources is the basis for the activity of the Trud Scientific Production Association. Leading scientific research associations and higher educational institutions, planning commissions, labor departments of the oblast soviet executive committee and statistical administrations of the western oblasts of the republic belong to the association. The procedural support of the program has been assigned to the Lvov Department of the Institute of Economics of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences.

In the activity of the association it is possible to distinguish two stages: the development of the comprehensive program of the mechanization of manual operations was carried out at the first stage, the elaboration and implementation of the comprehensive goal program of the increase of the efficiency of the use of manpower resources were carried out at the second.

In 1978 at a meeting of the bureau of the oblast party committee the state of and measures on the decrease of manual labor in industry were examined, the corresponding comprehensive program for 1979, 1980 and the 11th Five-Year Plan was approved. Its implementation made it possible to save in 1979 the labor of 3,000 people, in 1980--12,000, and to decrease significantly the use of manual labor.

In conformity with a decree of the bureau of the oblast party committee (April 1980) the suggestions of enterprises and the city and rayon party committees were generalized and a comprehensive goal program on the increase of the efficiency of the use of manpower resources in the national economy of the oblast for the 11th Five-Year Plan was drawn up. The program of the decrease of manual operations was included in it as one of the basic sections. The secretary of the oblast party committee was approved as the supervisor of the program, while the Trud Interdepartmental Special-Purpose Scientific Production Association was approved as the developer, methods center and responsible performer.

The program was drawn up with a sectorial and territorial breakdown with respect to each city and rayon, each farm, enterprise and organization. The program was developed with the use of computer equipment, which made it possible to carry out at a high scientific level the factor analysis of the reserves of the increase of labor productivity and to balance the use of manpower by sectors of the national economy of the oblast.

When drawing up the program both the rate of acceleration of the increases of labor productivity and the demographic situation, which had formed in the oblast, were taken into account: the "increase" of manpower resources in 1983 as compared with 1980 will come to only 4.3 percent. Meanwhile the volume of industrial production for the 5-year period will increase by 30.7 percent, the output of agriculture--13.0 percent, 3.9 billion rubles of capital investments will be assimilated. The network of housing and municipal services, health care and education will be enlarged, other sectors will undergo further development. All this requires additional hands in both the production and non-production spheres. Meanwhile the extensive sources of the increase of the able-bodied population in Lvov Oblast in practice have already been exhausted. The program is aimed at the uniting of the efforts of the local soviets,

economic organs, the collectives of production associations and enterprises, scientific research institutions and production innovators in the matter of the identification of the reserves of the further increase of labor productivity and the more complete and efficient use of the manpower resources available in the oblast.

One of the distinctive traits of the program consists in the comprehensive nature of the elaborated measures and their close interconnection with the plan of the economic and social development of the oblast for 1981-1985. In 1982 it was revised and adjusted in strict conformity with the approved indicators of the five-year plan. The assignments of the program are broken down by years of the five-year plan on the scale of cities and administrative rayons and are of a directive nature.

The program includes the following sections: the population and manpower resources of the oblast in 1981-1985 and in the future to 2000, the basic directions of the increase of the efficiency of labor, the training and increase of the skills of personnel, the distribution of productive forces with allowance made for the "manpower resources" factor.

A comprehensive socioeconomic survey of about 1,500 production associations, enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhoses was conducted during the period of the formulation of the program. On the basis of the obtained data scholars of the Lvov Department of the Institute of Economics of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences drafted "The Procedural Recommendations on the Drawing Up of the Comprehensive Goal Program of the Improvement of the Employment and the Increase of the Efficiency of the Use of the Manpower Resources of Lvov Oblast," which were a kind of guide for the drawing up and revision of the program as applied to the conditions of some cities, rayons and enterprises or others. Moreover, for providing assistance to the performers consultations were constantly held at the oblast House of Technology. The comprehensive goal program of the increase of the efficiency of the use of manpower resources is a result of the joint efforts of party committees, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, scientists and specialists.

The program contains a scientific analysis of the peculiarities of the formation of the manpower resources of the oblast for the next few years and the future. The main reasons for the sharp decline of the increase of manpower resources in the oblast are: the decrease of the natural growth; the lack of reserves of manpower which is employed in housekeeping and on the private plot; complications of the demographic situation, which are due to the aging of the population and the increase of the load on its active part, which is especially characteristic of rural areas, where young people are migrating intensively to the cities. The program orients social management toward the more complete use of the internal production and seasonal manpower resources, the increase of the employment of people of retirement age, the use of the schedule of a partial workday and the organization of work at home. The labor of undergraduates and upper grade students will be used more than so far in various sectors of physical production and the service sphere.

However, radical changes can be achieved only on the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the use of the advanced organization of

production, labor and management. During the 11th Five-Year Plan it is envisaged by the program to provide by the increase of labor productivity 84 percent of the increase of industrial output, the entire increase of agricultural output and 95 percent of the increase of the amount of construction and installation work, which is performed by the forces of contracting construction organizations; to save the labor of nearly 200,000 average annual workers, including 162,000 of those employed in the basic sectors of physical production; to decrease by one-third as compared with 1980 the losses of working time from full-day idle times, unauthorized absences, absences from work with permission of the administration; to decrease the intrashift idle times by 20-21 percent and the losses of working time due to illness by 30 percent; to decrease by nearly 2 percent the turnover of personnel; to ensure the release of 65,400 people by multiple-machine and multiple-unit service, the combining of occupations, the improvement of norm setting, the introduction of the brigade contract and other measures; as a result of the introduction of means of mechanization and automation to shift 47,300 people from manual to mechanized labor.

A high growth rate of labor productivity has been planned for the 11th Five-Year Plan. Thus, whereas in 1980 the labor of 71 workers was spent on the production of 1 million rubles of industrial output in the oblast, in 1985 this indicators will have decreased to 57, in construction respectively 121 and 102, in agriculture--367 and 285. If by the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan labor productivity were to remain at the 1980 level, for the achievement of the set growth rates of the volumes of production it would be necessary to additionally attract to industry 98,000 people, construction--78,000, agriculture--56,000. The expenditures on the implementation of measures, which ensure a saving of labor, will come for the five-year plan to 349 million rubles with an annual economic impact of 223 million rubles, that is, they will pay for themselves in 1.5 years.

A special place in the program of the Trud Association is assigned to the mechanization of production and labor processes. In essence, the section on mechanization is a subprogram which also performs a social function. It is a question of facilitating the labor of people, and first of all women. For 1981-1985 a decrease of the proportion of manual labor in industry from 39.5 to 33.8 percent is envisaged, and the number of workers engaged in manual labor will decrease by 9,400. In construction the proportion of manual labor will decrease by 14.9 percent, in agriculture--by 3 percent with the simultaneous decrease of the absolute size of this group of workers. Nearly a third of the total increase of productivity in the basic sectors of physical production will be provided by the decrease of manual labor.

Special questionnaires (the influence of scientific and technical progress on the quality and efficiency of employment, the opinions of workers of enterprises on the level of social, personal and cultural service and others was studied), on the basis of which mass sociological surveys of various groups of the population, which are employed in physical production and services, were conducted, were elaborated during the drawing up of the program. The obtained data made it possible to give concrete expression to many measures of the program and to lend them greater purposefulness from the point of view of the influence of social, infrastructural, organizational and other factors on the efficient use of manpower resources.

The results of the surveys of workers confirmed the advisability of the following directions of the strengthening of plant health services: it is proposed to open medical offices at 15 percent of the enterprises, plant dispensaries--at 16 percent, to improve the staffing of medical institutions with skilled personnel--at 21 percent and the supply of modern medical equipment--at 20 percent of the enterprises. It was established that inadequate attention is devoted to mass cultural and sports work in individual collectives. The studies of the socioeconomic activeness of women confirmed the need for the significant improvement of the work on the increase of the level of their skills in a number of sectors of the national economy [3].

The part of the subprogram, which is devoted to the training of personnel and the increase of their skills, is of particular importance. The proportion of skilled workers in the oblast does not exceed 65 percent, including 75 percent in industry, 82 percent in construction, transportation and communications and 39 percent in agriculture. It is planned by the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan to increase the proportion of skilled workers as a whole for the oblast to 74 percent, in particular, to reinforce operating enterprises with skilled workers of the leading occupations (metal lathe operators, repair mechanics and assemblers, tool makers, pattern makers, installers and others). This will make it possible to eliminate the trend, which is adversely affecting the increase of labor productivity and consists in the increase of the disparity between the average job category and the level of complexity of the work being performed.

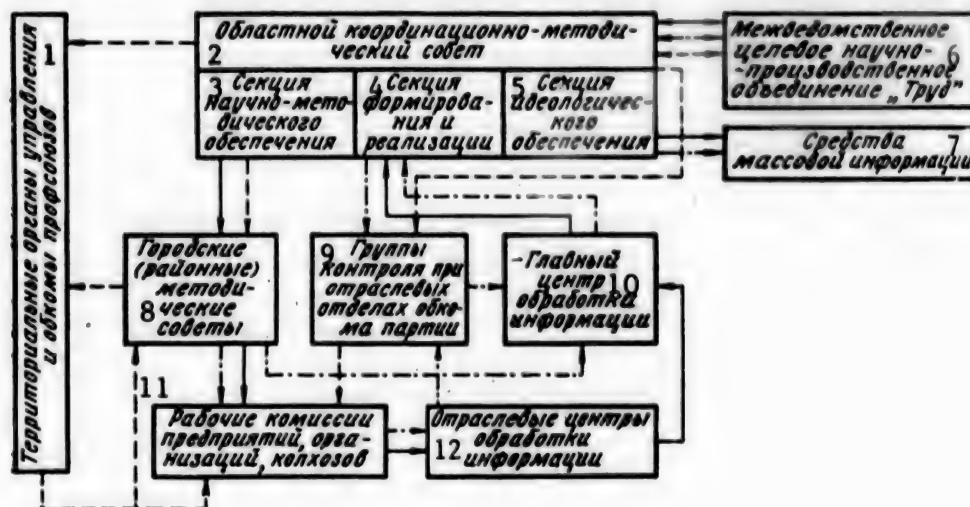
The program envisages the construction of new vocational and technical schools and the renovation and expansion of operating ones, in 1985 there will be 64 of them in the oblast with a student body of 50,000. However, it would be incorrect to limit the training of the regular labor force only to the activity of vocational and technical schools. A significant portion of the workers are being trained directly on the job, at departmental educational combines, schools and courses. These forms, as well as the measures of vocational guidance, vocational choice and occupational adaptation are reflected in detail in the program of the Trud Association.

The sociological studies conducted within the framework of this program established a number of disturbing trends in the vocational guidance of students and graduates of rural schools. Only 6.7 percent of the surveyed students want to study at rural vocational and technical schools, while 4.5 percent want to study at higher educational institutions and tekhnikums of the agricultural type. These data testify to the need to improve the system of labor training and vocational guidance in the rural school. Apparently, vocational guidance centers are needed not only in the cities, but also in rural rayons. At kolkhozes and sovkhoses it is expedient to create permanent councils or commissions for the vocational guidance of students. In this connection the task of determining more effective means and methods of the attachment of young people to the countryside has been posed for party, soviet and agricultural organs.

An important aspect of the matter is the control of the process of the implementation of the program. A special organ, the oblast methods coordinating council, in which there are three sections: scientific methods support,

coordination and analysis, ideological support, carries out the general supervision. Methods coordinating councils have also been created at the level of rayons and cities. They guide the progress of the implementation of similar programs of enterprises and organizations (see the diagram).

Diagram. The Structure of the Management of the Comprehensive Goal Program "The Improvement of Employment and the Increase of the Efficiency of the Use of Manpower Resources" (→ --formation; - - - -> --flow monitoring; - - - -> --regulation)



Key:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Territorial organs of management and oblast committees of trade unions | 7. Mass media |
| 2. Oblast methods coordinating council | 8. City (rayon) methods councils |
| 3. Section of scientific methods support | 9. Monitoring groups attached to sectorial departments of the oblast party committee |
| 4. Section of formation and implementation | 10. Main data processing center |
| 5. Section of ideological support | 11. Workers' commissions of enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes |
| 6. Trud Interdepartmental Scientific Production Association | 12. Sectorial data processing centers |

The results of the implementation of the oblast plan during the past 2 years of the 11th Five-Year Plan have confirmed its great effectiveness. Thus, the growth rate of labor productivity in industry came to 6.3 percent with a plan of 5.2 percent. The number of enterprises, which are not fulfilling the plan on the indicator, decreased to two-fifths. Labor productivity in construction increased by 8.5 percent, which is 1.8 percent greater than the assignment envisaged by the program. In the national economy of the oblast 258 mechanized flow and automatic lines were installed (149 were specified by

the program), 248 shops and sections were converted to complete mechanization and automation (the plan was 190), the manual labor of 18,300 workers was eliminated (the plan was 18,000). A quite high stability of personnel is being ensured, the plans on their organized recruitment and training are being exceeded.

As was already noted, the problem of the quality of manpower resources and the health of the population are also constantly in our purview. The new comprehensive goal program "The Increase of the Length of Life, the Increase of the Labor Activeness and the Improvement of the Health of the Population of Lvov Oblast" is being drawn up by the scientists of our oblast jointly with the Department of the Family of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This program is designed for the long-range future. A set of measures on the optimization of the protection of the health of the population, the development of the forms of recreation and the improvement of the system of the education of the rising generation constitutes its basis. The preparation of the program envisages mass sociological surveys of the manpower resources of the oblast and their reserves, in connection with which the appropriate tools have been developed and research methods, which make it possible to establish the influence of various factors (social, demographic, psychological, biomedical) on the quality of manpower resources, have been formulated.

In 1982 a center for the study of public opinion, which is called upon to coordinate the sociological studies which are conducted in Lvov, was set up on the basis of the Lvov Department of the Institute of Economics of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences. In a relatively short time several surveys of workers and employees have been conducted, recommendations on the elimination of "bottlenecks" have been introduced. Studies are being conducted on a uniform theme, which was approved by the city party committee for 1982-1985 and under the supervision of the secretary of the city committee. However, this work is being checked due to the acute shortage of personnel. For the present only nine sociological services exist in the city, moreover, at not one of them is there a specialist with a basic sociological education. In our opinion, following the example of Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov and several other universities Lvov University should also introduce a series of lectures on applied sociology.

The theme of the studies of plant sociological services is also of a one-sided nature. The analysis showed that plant sociologists, as a rule, take part in the compiling of the plans of the socioeconomic development of the collective and study the turnover of personnel. But meanwhile modern industrial sociology has moved far ahead. At a number of leading enterprises systems of the stabilization of labor collectives and rooms for the release of emotional and psychological tension, which were set up by sociologists, are operating successfully, questions of occupational and social adaptation are being studied, flexible work schedules have been developed and introduced. It is necessary to increase sharply the quality of the work of the sociological services of enterprises. And here the methods assistance of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences should play an important role.

In conclusion let us note: a well-balanced system of goal programs, which are being implemented within interdepartmental scientific production complexes and

associations, has been formed in Lvov Oblast. In this system not all of the units are yet functioning efficiently enough, interprogram relations and the mechanism of the implementation of the planned measures have not been adjusted everywhere. The ministries and departments are not always displaying the necessary persistence and initiative in order to accomplish the assignments envisaged by the programs. Other unsolved problems also exist. However, the experience gained in the oblast makes it possible to assert that the goal program approach to the accomplishment of the most important national economic tasks is a realistic prerequisite of the increase of the level of the use of the manpower potential.

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URGENT PROBLEMS OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF LABOR

LABOR, CONSUMPTION OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
(signed to press 27 Oct 83) pp 57-64

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Valeriy Borisovich Golofast, senior scientific associate of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Leonid Yevseyevich Kesel'man, junior scientific associate of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Tat'yana Zakharovna Protasenko, junior scientific associate of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Efficiency of the Labor and the Structure of the Consumption of Industrial Workers"]

[Text] "An honest, conscious attitude toward labor is the first principle of the socialist way of life."

From the materials of the June (1983)
CPSU Central Committee Plenum

The relationship of activeness in labor and consumer activity is one of the key problems of the way of life. An inseparable connection exists between the measure of labor and the measure of consumption. The closer it is, the more efficient the consumer process is and the greater and more high-quality the public resources, which can be mobilized in the process of labor, are. And, on the contrary, the disturbance of such a connection leads to disorganization in both spheres.

In this article on the basis of the data, which were obtained during the repeated survey of 4,250 workers of 12 industrial enterprises of Leningrad,¹ an attempt is made to analyze the dependence between various parameters, which characterize labor activity, and the consumer activeness of the respondents.

The authors are publishing work in our journal for the first time. V. B. Golofast is the author of the monographs "Kompleksnoye sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoye issledovaniye" [The Complex Socioeconomic Study] (1978, in joint authorship), "Metodologicheskii analiz v sotsial'nom issledovanii" [Methodological Analysis in Social Research] (1981). L. Ye. Kesel'man is a specialist in labor sociology. T. Z. Protasenko specializes in sociological problems of the way of life.

The hierarchy of factors of the production efficiency of a worker, which is constructed on the basis of correlations, to a certain extent is averaged, approximate. Therefore we attempted to establish the connection of the extreme groups, which were differentiated with respect to the indicator of occupational production activeness "RI" (on its construction see [1, pp 69-73]), with nine specific characteristics of labor activity: the fulfillment of the output norms, the quality of work, responsibility, participation in leading initiatives, in the rationalization of production, the aspiration of improve the organization of labor, the rejection of the job being assigned, the existence of penalties and the overall evaluation of discipline. The technique of the identification of the local ratios between the values of the variables was used for this.²

As is evident from Table 1, the order of the factors of occupational production efficiency, which was obtained by means of the coefficients of paired correlation between the general indicator of production efficiency and the particular indicators, differs substantially from the rank structures of the indices of the closeness of the relationship of the highest and lowest levels of efficiency.

Table 1

Indicators of the Efficiency of the Production Activity of Workers (1962)

Characteristics of labor activity	Indicators of general relationship		Local indicators of relationship			
	efficiency		highest level of efficiency		lowest level of efficiency	
	correlation coefficient	rank	index of lead- ing workers	rank	index of lag- ging workers	rank
Responsibility.	0.66	1	0.41	6	1.84	4
Quality of work	0.63	2	0.65	5	21.00	2
Suggestions on organization of labor.	0.62	3	2.95	2	0.32	7
Fulfillment of norms. . . .	0.55	4	2.42	4	21.50	1
Leading initiatives	0.45	5	2.54	3	0.20	8
Rationalization proposals .	0.38	6	3.33	1	0.11	9
Discipline.	0.28	7	0.11	7	8.29	3
Penalties	0.17	8	0.05	8-9	1.82	5
Rejections of assigned job.	0.17	9	0.06	8-9	1.70	6

Thus, the indicator of participation in rationalization activity holds in the hierarchy of the paired correlation coefficients an intermediate position, while it is most closely connected with the highest level of efficiency and

least closely with the lowest level. In other words, rationalizers are encountered primarily among the leaders, while they are not among the lagging and a significant portion of the "average" workers. On the other hand, such an indicator as responsibility is in first place in the hierarchy of correlation coefficients and in fifth or sixth place in the hierarchy of the relationships of the highest and lowest levels of efficiency.

Table 2

Indicators of the Efficiency of the Production Activity of Workers
(1962 and 1976)

Characteristics of labor activity	1962		1976	
	closeness of relationship	rank	closeness of relationship	rank
Highest level of efficiency				
Rationalization proposals.	3.33	1	3.08	1
Suggestions on organization of labor	2.95	2	2.55	2-3
Leading initiatives.	2.54	3	2.25	4
Fulfillment of norms	2.42	4	2.56	2-3
Quality of work.	0.65	5	0.68	5
Responsibility	0.41	6	0.20	7
Discipline	0.11	7	0.43	6
Absence of rejections.	0.06	8	0.07	9
Absence of penalties	0.05	9	0.16	8
Lowest level of efficiency				
Fulfillment of norms	21.50	1	24.40	1-2
Quality of work.	21.00	2	24.40	1-2
Discipline	8.29	3	6.63	3
Responsibility	1.84	4	3.21	4
Penalties.	1.82	5	1.10	5
Cases of rejections.	1.70	6	1.15	6
Suggestions on organization of labor	0.32	7	0.26	7-8
Leading initiatives.	0.20	8	0.16	9
Rationalization proposals.	0.11	9	0.29	7-8

According to the data of both arrays (Table 2) participation in rationalization activity and in leading initiatives, as well as the offering of suggestions on the improvement of the organization of labor are most closely connected with the highest level of production efficiency. All these characteristics are included in the factor of the internal regulation of production activity and in the 1962 study were united in the index "I" (initiative). Thus, the conclusion of the authors of the book "Chelovek i yego rabota" [Man and His Work], which was drawn by them on the basis of a different technique of analysis than ours: "The main distinctive trait of the leading young worker is initiative" [1, p 105], is confirmed.

According to the materials of both the first and the repeated surveys, the highest level of efficiency correlates extremely poorly with the absence of

rejections of the assigned job and penalties for the violation of labor discipline. Not only the leading, but also the overwhelming majority of "average" workers do not have disciplinary penalties and cases of the rejection of the assigned job.

Although the hierarchy of professional qualities of young workers during the time, which passed between the two studies, for the most part was preserved, the contribution to the formation of the highest level of efficiency of such a characteristic of labor activity as participation in leading initiatives decreased noticeably. This is explained, in our opinion, by two factors. On the one hand, the proportion of the participants in leading initiatives increased slightly. In 1962 it came to 20 percent, while in 1976 it came to 23 percent. This circumstance decreased the differentiating influence of this indicator. On the other hand, participation in leading initiatives at times acts not so much as a factor as it acts as a consequence of the great production efficiency of the worker.

During the period which has passed the tendency toward the strengthening of the relationship of the highest level of efficiency with the considerable exceeding of the output norms has begun to show, which attests to the improvement of the system of norm setting and material stimulation. Whereas in 1962 62.6 percent of the young workers exceeded the norms, and 10.7 percent of them did so significantly, in 1976 the analogous indicators came respectively to 43 and 4.4 percent. The exceeding of the production assignments, and especially their significant exceeding, requires today much greater output than 20 years ago.

The relationship of the highest level of efficiency with the discipline of the workers has become closer, which is due for the most part to two circumstances--the increase of the demands on the strict observance of the operating practices and the actual decline of production discipline. It is confirmed by the following data. The proportion of those who had cases of rejections of the job being assigned in the 1962 array came to about 9 percent, 1976--11 percent; the proportion of those having disciplinary penalties during this period increased even more--from 10 to 20 percent.

As to the lowest level of efficiency, it, according to the materials of both studies, is connected to the greatest extent with the nonfulfillment of the production assignments, a poor quality of work and the nonobservance of production discipline. Thus, the conclusion drawn in 1962: "The basic characteristic of the lagging worker is elementary carelessness and lack of discipline, a poor quality of the output being produced" [1, p 106], was confirmed. We would like, however, to specify that according to the materials of both studies the lowest level of production activeness all the same depends first of all on the nonfulfillment of the production assignments and the poor quality of work. Precisely these characteristics are typical primarily only of lagging workers, while the lack of discipline is also characteristic of a portion of the "average" workers.

The data obtained during the repeated survey also confirmed the topicality of another conclusion: "...in case of low and average indicators of the fulfillment of the output norms, an average product quality and a low level of

responsibility for the work being performed the appeal for the development of initiative in the form of a creative attitude toward the production assignments, participation in leading initiatives and so forth in the majority of instances is anticipation, the premature posing of tasks for the workers" [1, p 106].

Table 3

Indicators of Production Activity of Workers Subject to Content of Labor, percent of number of workers in group

Characteristics of labor activity	Workers on conveyor N = 735	Workers at semi-automatic machines N = 599	Machine tool operators N = 708	Mechanics N = 965
Fulfill norms.	63	63	56	41
Turn over high quality products	76	68	72	75
Conscientious.	77	71	66	78
Disciplined.	80	74	70	71
Do not allow losses of working time	75	72	63	63
Full of initiative . . .	49	37	52	52
Have rationalization proposals.	20	17	51	56
Rated as good and leading workers.	66	58	64	62

In our opinion, the above-described trends are connected with the evolution of the technological and organizational structures of labor. Let us examine for an example the peculiarities of the production activity of the workers of two categories, which are traditional in the content of labor (machine tool operators and mechanics), and two more modern categories (workers on the conveyor and at semi-automatic machines). As is obvious from Table 3, the differences in the quality of work and conscientiousness are minor. At the same time the importance of such characteristics as the fulfillment of the norms, discipline and the optimum use of working time is noticeably greater for the respondents who are employed on the conveyor and at semi-automatic machines. On the other hand, the higher indicators of initiative and participation in rationalization activity among the representatives of the traditional groups of industrial workers stem from the fact that autonomy, independence and self-organization are dictated by the requirements of the workplace itself. To this it should be added that the groups, which are traditional with respect to the content of labor, remain in composition primarily male groups, while primarily women are employed on the conveyors and at semi-automatic machines. Such a differentiation at times persists, in spite of the negligible difference in the wage between individual groups of workers (which on the average does not exceed 30-35 rubles in case of comparable levels of skill and length of service).

When developing the plan of the analysis of personal material consumption, we presumed that such objective characteristics of the respondents as age, the content of labor and income would explain the variations in the level of the

saturation with durable goods and the consumption of services. The obtained data³ showed the following. The maximum supply with items of household property is observed in the families of workers from 36 to 45 years old. The workers of this group have a quite high per capita income (in our sample more than 100 rubles on the average), the main standards of life, including in the area of consumption, have already been defined among them. The people of this age, as a rule, have a family, and, apparently, the formation of their home physical environment for the most part is being completed. It is important to stress that the workers of this age category are also most active in production behavior [2].

The differences in the levels of saturation with some household items or others among the respondents having a different income come to not more than 10 percent. The boundary of the differences for our sample passes between the groups with an income of up to and more than 80 rubles. It is understandable that in the first groups the supply is less than in the second groups, but after the per capita income reaches 80 rubles and more, the consumption of material goods (but not services!) becomes in practice an independent variable with respect to its amount. This circumstance has also been detected by other researchers (see, for example, [3]).

Table 4

Supply With Household Items Subject to Occupational Skills Affiliation of Respondents, percent of number of workers in group

Social strata of workers	Availability of items											Number of workers in group
	refrigerator	vacuum cleaner	floor polisher	sewing machine	washing machine	television	radio	tape recorder	camera	motor vehicle or motorcycle	tourist equipment	
Workers of unskilled physical labor (loaders). . . .	95	52	15	62	48	97	82	45	15	11	18	93
Workers on conveyor	92	55	16	72	52	97	88	46	42	11	18	88
Machine tool operators. . .	93	60	16	63	50	98	86	45	47	10	22	143
Workers of skilled manual labor (mechanics)	95	59	21	64	51	98	85	56	55	13	18	143
Workers at semi-automatic equipment	92	61	19	72	53	98	87	46	49	11	18	89

From Table 4 it is evident that nearly everyone has a refrigerator and television, the majority have a sewing machine and radio, approximately half have a vacuum cleaner, tape recorder, camera and washing machine. A very negligible portion have a floor polisher and tourist equipment, 10 percent of the respondents have a motor vehicle or motorcycle.

Let us direct attention to the groups of unskilled and skilled labor, since they are as if at different poles of the "consumer continuum" (although it, too, is not too drawn out). The sex-age (12-13 percent are women, the average age is 37-40), educational (about 60 percent completed the 8th-10th grades) and family structures, as well as the amount of the average per capita income (more than 100 rubles) of the indicated categories are practically identical. Moreover, the majority of respondents of both groups have lived in Leningrad more than 10 years (among workers of unskilled physical labor--85 percent, skilled labor--90 percent). Therefore, the influence of the listed characteristics on the activeness of the representatives of the given groups of workers in the acquisition of household items can be eliminated, and then the given difference can be explained by two factors: a) the differences proper in the content of labor and the peculiarities of the way of life, which are connected with this; b) the differences in the conditions of socialization (among the mechanics the people from rural areas and Leningraders make up 20 and 58 percent respectively, among loaders--40 and 34 percent).

More meaningful labor, apparently, also forms a richer structure of consumption. But the inadequate adaptation to the standards of consumption of a large city impoverish it.

A definite relationship exists between the content of labor and the level of consumption of services. Unskilled workers use more rarely than skilled workers the services of dry cleaners, laundries, shops for the custom making of clothes and footwear, barber shops and hairdressers, delicatessens, kolkhoz markets, order tables, information and travel bureaus, Aeroflot, taxis, polyclinics requiring payment, savings banks and so on. Those employed in skilled manual labor also have a more developed structure of the consumption of material goods and services as compared with other groups of workers. But the differences between the named groups all the same are not very significant.

What are the interrelations between the overall efficiency of production activity and the supply with material goods as indicators of the level and structure of consumption? According to the research hypothesis, the worker, whose labor activeness is high, should also be quite active in the consumption of material goods and, on the contrary, a low output on the job presumes relative passivity in the sphere of consumption.

The obtained data first of all make it possible to draw the conclusion that the relationships between the production efficiency of a worker and the majority of indicators of personal consumption (the supply with housing, municipal conveniences, the availability of household items for personal and cultural purposes) are positive, although not very strong. The housing conditions of the respondents, who are considered good workers or leaders, are much better than those of mediocre workers. Thus, whereas among the latter only 50 percent have separate apartments, among good workers 62 percent do, including leaders--74 percent. The average number of square meters of living space in the groups of good workers and leaders is also greater, they are also better supplied with municipal conveniences.

The fact that among leading workers the proportion of those who have cultural items (tape recorders, cameras and movie cameras) is much greater, attests to

the broader cultural outlook and more developed interests in the sphere of leisure of leading workers. Nearly a third of the leaders have tourist equipment, among them the percentage of those who have a motor vehicle or motorcycle is greater.

The cited data confirm quite well the advanced hypothesis with respect to male workers: the more production successes they achieve, the higher their labor status is and the greater their activeness in daily life is, which is objectified in the form of favorable living conditions and the supply with durable items.

The picture for women is more complicated. The relationship between their labor activity and the consumption of material goods is insignificant, and at times is of a negative nature. The information concerning female workers fits the general hypothesis to a significantly smaller extent, although it does not contradict it as a whole.

The obvious similarity of the consumer activeness among the representatives of the individual occupational skills groups of workers cannot but attract attention, especially as, in spite of the approximately identical level of income on the average, the directions and types of consumer activeness among workers, employees and the intelligentsia differ substantially.

Here are a few facts which were established during the survey "100 Questions About Your Life." In the supply with televisions, sewing and washing machines, radios and carpets the families of workers and the intelligentsia practically do not differ, but workers have one-half to two-thirds as many kitchen and furniture collections, bookshelves, tape recorders, cameras and other items for ordinary cultural and personal purposes and one-seventh to one-fourth as many pianos and motor vehicles. The average value of the items of the personal wardrobe of the respondents who are workers is one-tenth as great as that of the respondents who are employees and intellectuals,⁴ they buy less and for a smaller amount. Thus, whereas in the families of workers the average expenditure on large purchases in a year came to 150-200 rubles, among employees it came to 250 rubles and among intellectuals--in the amount of more than 300 rubles. The families of workers spend somewhat less on food and substantially less on housing and municipal services. The latter is explained by the fact that among workers the proportion of those living in state apartments is greater, while among the other groups the proportion of those having housing cooperative apartments is significant.

Significant differences are being maintained between workers and representatives of employees and the intelligentsia in the consumption of the services which are offered by personal service institutions (Table 5). In the group of workers the proportion of those who did not resort once during the year to the services of a tailor shop comes to 56 percent, a shoe repair shop--27 percent, a dry cleaner--58 percent, a house kitchen--51 percent, a laundry--42 percent. The analogous indicators in the other groups are much lower.

Along with the differences in living conditions and the style of housekeeping the specific nature of consumption appears thoroughly in the cultural interests and activeness of the individual groups. Thus, workers not only travel

less about the country, but within the boundaries of Leningrad also are not distinguished by a great activeness of movement. About 20 percent of them in practice never travel outside Leningrad Oblast (as against 3 percent in the families of the intelligentsia), approximately 30 percent rarely move from the rayons in which they live and work. The data on trips outside the city and visits to museums and theaters also attest to the lower activeness of the respondents who are workers as compared with employees and representatives of the intelligentsia.

Table 5

Consumption of Services of Personal Service Institutions Subject to Social Affiliation, percent

Social groups	Used if only once during the year the services of							Number of respondents in group
	tailor shop	shoe repair shop	dry cleaner	laundry	rental shop	order desk	house kitchen	
Workers.	44	73	63	42	21	18	49	216
Employees.	49	83	76	63	21	31	60	126
Intellectuals.	57	88	85	75	18	35	61	159

As a whole it is possible to state that a certain weakness of the relationship of the content of labor and consumption among workers in the past two decades has appeared in the standardization of the atmosphere of daily life, which stems from the comparatively equal economic opportunities of different social groups, which, undoubtedly, the wage policy promoted [4]. Being the most important objective factor, the content of labor is poorly connected with the enrichment of the structure and type of consumer activeness of workers, its importance is barely perceptible.

A moderately pronounced positive relationship is observed between the level and type of consumer behavior of workers and the effectiveness of their labor—the level of production efficiency. The appeals for initiative and independence are most effective, when they concern the leading workers. For the other categories the increase of skills, personal responsibility, persistence and self-monitoring and the strict fulfillment of the output norms, the technological and social requirements of the production organization remain the main tasks. Precisely these qualities should determine the strategy of material stimulation.

It was not possible to detect statistically significant groups of workers, which would be distinguished by activeness in the sphere of the consumption of services, cultural or leisure activity. Undoubtedly, such groups exists, but their active behavior in the sphere of consumption, apparently, is explained by different factors than those studied by us. These may be, for example, the differences in social origin (including the time of residence in the city), differences of the life cycle and marital status and, finally, individual psychological peculiarities.

The structure of the way of life is formed by the entire set of factors which constitute the social status of a person in society, by the nature and meaning of the relations of the individual and society. And although labor activity remains the leading, organizing core of vital activity, it is necessary to study consumption more thoroughly as a prerequisite of labor activity, as a factor of the full-fledged development of the individual.

FOOTNOTES

1. The survey was conducted in 1976 by the Sector of Social Problems of the Individual and the Way of Life of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The information on the production activity of the workers, as in the case of the first such survey in 1962, was obtained from the foremen.
2. The technique consists in the following. For example, the proportion of the best workers, who found themselves in the highest gradation according to "RI" in the sample of 1962, comes to 9.3 percent. At the same time of all the workers, who considerably exceed the production assignments, 31.8 percent in accordance with this indicator were included in the group of the best, of those who take part in rationalization--40.3 percent, of those who do not have penalties--9.3 percent. Hence the index of the closeness of the relationship of the highest level of efficiency for those who significantly exceed the output norms comes to $[31.8/9.3] - 1 = 2.42$; for rationalizers-- $[40.3/9.3] - 1 = 3.33$; for those who do not have penalties-- $[9.8/9.3] - 1 = 0.05$.
3. The data of the studies "Our Family," "Our Free Time" and "100 Questions About Your Life" (1976-1979), which are connected with the repeated survey of 1976 by a uniform program, are cited here and below.
4. Here and below: employees are people of primarily mental labor, who are employed in positions which require special training or a specialized secondary education; intellectuals are people of skilled mental labor, who are employed in positions which require a higher education.

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PRODUCTIVITY, SATISFACTION WITH WORK

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
(signed to press 27 Oct 83) pp 64-71

[Article by Candidate of Psychological Sciences Vladimir Samuilovich Magun, junior scientific associate of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Two Types of the Relationship of Labor Productivity and the Satisfaction With Work"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in italics in source]

[Text] It is usually customary to examine labor activity, first, from the point of view of socioeconomic utility, which is recorded in the indicators of productivity, and, second, from the point of view of individual importance, which is measured by the indicators of satisfaction with work. How do these appraisals correlate? Is the increase of labor efficiency accompanied by the more complete meeting of individual needs? Is high production output always a condition of psychological "comfort" or is the interrelationship between them more complicated?

These questions became the subject of extensive debates for the first time within the framework of the theory of "human relations in industry." Its supporters expressed the opinion that the satisfaction of a worker with labor is positively correlated with its productivity. However, the results of empirical studies, which were published in the 1950's and 1960's, shook such a conviction, and so far the problem has never received a definite solution [1].

In spite of the ambiguity of the obtained data, they nevertheless give grounds for the conclusion that between productivity and satisfaction the positive correlation is dominant. For example, in the study of young workers (Leningrad, 1962) the correlation between the index of responsibility and initiative in work, on the one hand, and satisfaction with work, on the other, came to 0.14 ($N=2,665$, $p \leq 0.001$) [2, pp 137-139]. Nearly all the values of the correlations between the professional qualities of engineers and their satisfaction with various aspects of their work also proved to be positive [3, p 154]. Unidirectional changes of productivity and satisfaction were recorded among

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agricultural workers [4]. Correlations, which are similar in nature, have also been detected by foreign researchers. Thus, in 14 of the 26 studies, which were analyzed by F. Herzberg and his associates, greater satisfaction was accompanied by greater productivity, in 9 studies these parameters were not connected, and only in 3 was a negative correlation observed [5]. V. Vroom analyzed 20 studies, in which productivity was compared with satisfaction [6]. Although the correlation coefficients ranged from +0.86 to -0.31, the median coefficient came to +0.14. In numerous studies of the 1970's mainly positive correlations were also obtained [7].

There are, however, some grounds to expect that negative correlations exist between productivity and satisfaction with work. The point is that the absolute values of the positive correlation coefficients, which were recorded in the mentioned studies, as a rule, are small--they rarely exceed the value of 0.30. This makes it possible to suggest: the positive correlation, which reveals itself in these coefficients, is dominant, but not the only one. Perhaps, an opposite--negative--trend, which is concealed by a stronger positive correlation, also exists. Factor analysis acts as an effective means of separating such trends which are positive in sign [8; 3, pp 44-53]. So far this method has not been used for the study of the relations between productivity and satisfaction.

Let us analyze the relationship of the parameters which interest us, by using the data of the study "The Worker-1976," which was conducted in Leningrad.¹

The coefficients of the correlation between the expert appraisals of professional qualities and the indicators of satisfaction are cited in Table 1. As we see, the majority of correlations are positive and statistically significant, and in 62 percent of the cases in case of $p < 0.001$. This indicates that with an increase of productivity satisfaction also usually increases. The value of the coefficients depends first of all on what aspect of labor activity is being evaluated. The satisfaction with the wage, the possibility of self-realization, as well as with the process of the performance of work, the relations with the foreman, the prospects of the increase of skills, the possibility of taking part in production management and work as a whole gives comparatively close positive correlations with all the "practical" parameters. The correlation of productivity with the satisfaction with the state of the equipment, public health conditions, the norm setting of labor and the uniformity of the supply with work is noticeably weaker, and for the most part statistically insignificant.

The essence of the correlations appears more clearly, if among the respondents one distinguishes the groups with different combinations of productivity and satisfaction (see Table 2). There are 10 percent more homogeneous combinations (high satisfaction with high productivity or low satisfaction with low productivity)² than heterogeneous combinations: 44 percent as against 34 percent. Moreover, the satisfaction with the wage, the possibilities of self-realization, participation in production management and the increase of skills, the process of work and relations with the foreman is combined more "harmoniously" with productivity than satisfaction with the equipment, public health conditions, norm setting and the uniformity of the supply with work. The preponderance of homogeneous over heterogeneous combinations in the first case comes on the average to 16 percent (46 percent as against 30 percent), while in the second--only 3 percent (43 percent as against 40 percent).

Table 1

Coefficients of Correlation Between Indicators of Productivity and Satisfaction (N=4,003)

Parameters of productivity	Satisfaction with										
	state of equipment	smoothness of work	public health conditions	norm setting of labor	amount of wage	possibility of self-realization	labor process	relations with foreman	opportunity to increase skills	possibility of participating in production management	work as a whole
Fulfillment of output norms.	0.06	0.00	-0.03*	-0.03*	0.21	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.04	0.07	0.14
Quality of work.	0.04	0.04	-0.01*	-0.01*	0.13	0.11	0.11	0.10	0.07	0.08	0.12
Discipline	0.06	0.05	0.02*	0.04*	0.16	0.10	0.11	0.13	0.12	0.09	0.14
Initiative in work	0.00*	0.02*	-0.02*	-0.02*	0.11	0.11	0.15	0.12	0.08	0.09	0.16
"Leader--laggard".	0.05	0.03*	-0.01*	0.03*	0.17	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.12	0.11	0.17

The correlation coefficients, beginning with 0.06, are statistically significant in case of $p < 0.001$.
 The coefficients, which are not significant in case of $p < 0.05$, are marked with asteriks.

Table 2

Proportion of Different Combinations of Indicators of Productivity and Satisfaction, percent
(N = 4,003)

Types of combinations	Satisfaction with										
	state of equipment	smoothness of work	public health conditions	norm setting of labor	amount of wage	possibility of self-realization	labor process	relations with foreman	opportunity to increase skills	possibility of participating in production management	work as a whole
Homogeneous											
Low productivity and low satisfaction. .	18	13	20	13	16	7	12	4	10	9	6
High productivity and high satisfaction.	26	34	22	27	34	30	34	54	34	24	45
Heterogeneous											
Low productivity and high satisfaction .	16	22	15	17	18	18	19	33	20	13	26
High productivity and low satisfaction .	24	17	30	18	16	7	13	2	11	10	5

The figures in the rows vary subject to which parameter of satisfaction is compared with productivity. Since only the data on the respondents with a high and low degree of satisfaction are included in the table, the sum in the columns is less than 100 percent.

Let us note that the worker does not bear responsibility for those aspects of the production situation, the satisfaction with which correlates weakly with productivity and yields with it the largest number of heterogeneous combinations. The regulation of these factors is carried out by representatives of the various services of the enterprise, the sector and so on. As to those aspects of labor, the satisfaction with which correlates more closely with productivity, as a rule, the worker can influence them.

By means of factor analysis from the matrix of intercorrelations of the 17 indicators 10 factors, which describe 80 percent of the variance, were distinguished. The combination of the parameters of productivity and satisfaction was revealed in only two factors (Table 3). As we see, the FIRST FACTOR (an information content of 23 percent) reproduces the trend which was identified with respect to the coefficients of paired correlation: the interindividual differences of satisfaction in this case are directly proportionate to the variations of productivity. In other words, the better a person works, the more his needs are met. What has been said concerns all the indicators of productivity and satisfaction.

Table 3

Factors of the Direct (I) and Inverse (II) Relationships Between
Productivity and Satisfaction (Extractions From Factor Matrix Until
Rotation; Method of Main Components; N=4,003)

Indicators	Factor I	Factor II
Productivity		
Fulfillment of output norms.	0.40	-0.55
Quality of work.	0.48	-0.64
Discipline	0.50	-0.56
Initiative in work	0.48	-0.66
"Leader--laggard".	0.54	-0.65
Satisfaction with		
state of equipment	0.55	0.37*
smoothness of work	0.48	0.37*
public health conditions	0.47	0.45*
norm setting of labor.	0.50	0.43*
amount of wage	0.55	0.14
possibility of self-realization.	0.52	0.18
labor process.	0.50	0.14
relations with foreman	0.44	0.12
opportunity to increase skills	0.46	0.17
possibility of participating in production management	0.45	0.17
Number of appealing aspects of work.	0.42	0.13*
Number of unappealing aspects of work.	-0.47	-0.39*

* printed in italics in source.

But, as we also expected, the general trend, which appeared in the first factor, is not the only one. Satisfaction and productivity are included in the SECOND FACTOR (an information content of 17 percent) with weights which are

opposite in sign, that is, the lower the latter is, the higher the former is. Four indicators of satisfaction are correlated with the factor almost as closely as the indicators of productivity (factor weights of 0.37-0.45), the others are correlated more weakly (0.12-0.18). With an increase of productivity the worker's satisfaction with the norm setting of labor, its public health conditions, the state of equipment and the smoothness of labor, that is, with the circumstances, for which other participants in the labor process bear responsibility, primarily decreases. Let us recall that precisely the listed indicators of satisfaction did not yield significant paired correlations with productivity.

Within the given factor the evaluations of satisfaction range mainly between neutral and negative values: the factor weight of the indicator, which characterizes the number of unappealing aspects of work, comes to -0.39, while the number of appealing aspects--only 0.13. What has been said signifies that negative emotional experiences with regard to working conditions (that is, dissatisfaction with them) are characteristic of more productive workers, while in general the lack of any emotional experiences with regard to working conditions is characteristic of less productive workers. As to the first factor, there the evaluations of satisfaction vary over the entire range of the emotional scale: the factor loads of the number of appealing and unappealing aspects of work are nearly identical in absolute value and are equal respectively to 0.42 and -0.47. Both poles of the first factor are equally saturated emotionally: negative experiences are characteristic of less productive workers, while positive experiences are characteristic of more productive workers.

Thus, it is possible to draw the conclusion that two types of relationships exist between the productivity of a worker and his satisfaction with various aspects of labor. Indeed, the DIRECT RELATIONSHIPS, when satisfaction also increases with an increase of productivity, are dominant (which corresponds to the data of previous studies). At the same time inverse, NEGATIVE RELATIONSHIPS, when with an increase of one of the parameters in question the values of the other decrease, account for a significant proportion of the relationships.

The existence of such interrelationships points to the existence in our sample of four types of workers: productive and satisfied with all aspects of work; unproductive and dissatisfied with all its aspects; productive and dissatisfied with those aspects of work, for which other people are responsible; unproductive, but satisfied with those aspects of it, for which other people are responsible. The first and second types are the poles of the first factor, the third and fourth types are the poles of the second factor.

Doubt about the reality of the inverse interrelationships between productivity and satisfaction might arise for the reader, since the final result of the factor analysis is absent in the initial matrix of paired correlations and, moreover, "disappears" after rotation. For the proof of the reality of not only the positive, but also the negative interrelationships it is necessary to obtain both relationships in a clearer form--in the form of paired correlations. Here it is natural to expect that in the group of people, who have polar individual values with respect to the first factor, the paired

correlations between productivity and satisfaction will be positive. In the group with polar individual values with respect to the second factor the correlations will be negative.

In order to find the sought paired correlations, we formed two subsamples. The respondents with individual values with respect to the first factor from 1 to 7 (low) and from 15 to 17 (high) were included in the first subsample; those with values from 1 to 4 and from 12 to 17, but with respect to the second factor, were included in the second subsample.³ Thus, people with polar values with respect to the same factor made up each of the subsamples.⁴ The coefficients of correlation between the overall indicator of productivity ("leader--laggard") and the different indicators of satisfaction were calculated for the groups (Table 4).

As is evident from the table, the values of the paired correlations confirm the results contained in the factor matrix. In the subsample, which was formed on the basis of the first factor, the correlations between productivity and satisfaction have high positive values ($r_{\text{average}} = 0.56$). They substantially exceed (in case of $p < 0.001$) both the coefficients, which were obtained in the entire array, and the coefficients of subsample, which was formed on the basis of the second factor. In the latter the correlation coefficients of productivity with satisfaction with the factors of labor, which do not depend on the worker, are negative and quite large in absolute value, the correlations with satisfaction with the other aspects of work are zero (only one comes to 0.10). The values of all the correlations in the subsample of the second factor are much lower than in the subsample of the first factor and are lower than in the entire array, and the differences are statistically significant (in the majority of instances in case of $p < 0.001$). For example, the coefficient of correlation between the reputation of the worker in the shop (productivity) and the overall satisfaction with the conditions of labor activity, which do not depend on the respondent, in the subsample of the second factor is equal to -0.33, while in the subsample of the first factor it is equal to +0.60.

Thus, owing to the factor analysis we were able to "split" the initial zero correlations between the productivity of workers and the satisfaction with the working conditions, which do not depend on them. It turned out that two trends of different direction, which are characteristic of the different (and almost nonintersecting) subsamples, were revealed behind each such coefficient which was calculated with respect to the entire array. The actually noted trends have already been represented in the initial bivariate distributions of productivity and satisfaction (see Table 2). With the shift from the group with low values to the group with high values of the mentioned variables the latter change unidirectionally, and this gives a positive correlation. If the changes are in different directions, that is, in case of the shift from the group with high productivity and low satisfaction to the group with high productivity and high satisfaction, the value of the coefficient should be negative. The described intrafactor relationships are steadily reproduced in the different subsamples, which were formed with respect to age, the combination of age and sex, different parameters of the working conditions and so on--in all in 18 groups.

Table 4

Coefficients of Correlation Between Evaluation of Productivity and
Indicators of Satisfaction

Satisfaction with	Correlations for entire array, N = 4,003 (1)	Correlation in group of people with polar values with respect to first factor, N = 597 (2)	Significance of differ- ence between (1) and (2)	Correlation in group with polar values with respect to second factor, N = 570 (3)	Significance of differ- ence between (1) and (3)	Significance of differ- ence between (2) and (3)
a) state of equipment. . .	0.05**	0.56***	0.001	-0.21***	0.001	0.001
b) smoothness of work. . .	0.03	0.52***	0.001	-0.13**	0.001	0.001
c) public health conditions	-0.01	0.48***	0.001	-0.35***	0.001	0.001
d) norm setting of labor .	0.03	0.53***	0.001	-0.27***	0.001	0.001
e) amount of wage.	0.17***	0.61***	0.001	0.01	0.001	0.001
f) possibility of self- realization	0.15***	0.63***	0.001	0.01	0.001	0.001
g) labor process	0.15***	0.60***	0.001	0.04	0.05	0.001
h) relations with foreman.	0.15***	0.51***	0.001	0.10*	Not sig- nificant	0.001
i) opportunity to increase skills.	0.12***	0.51***	0.001	0.00	0.01	0.001
j) possibility of partici- pating in production management.	0.11***	0.53***	0.001	0.01	0.05	0.001
Sum of attributes a-d. . .	0.03	0.60***	0.001	-0.33***	0.001	0.001
Sum of attributes e, f, h, i	0.22***	0.68***	0.001	0.03	0.001	0.001

* The correlation is significant in case of $p < 0.05$.

** The correlation is significant in case of $p < 0.01$.

*** The correlation is significant in case of $p < 0.001$.

The information contained in the initial factor matrix is very vague from the point of view of the possibilities of a cause-effect interpretation. In order to overcome this difficulty in some way, we "enlarged" the factor matrix, having added new indicators to the initial set. They were used as "keys" to the explanation of the relationships which interest us.

Based on these additional attributes it is possible to conclude: the direct relationships of productivity and satisfaction, which dominate in the sample, are due to the fact that within the first factor the more productive labor

activity is accompanied by more "acquisitions" and fewer "losses" for the workers (less fatigue, health disorders and so forth). The inverse relationships (the second factor) are due in part to the fact that more productive workers have stronger negative consequences of activity (fatigue, deterioration of health). Workers, obviously, regard the working conditions as the cause of such negative phenomena, which also gives rise to dissatisfaction with them.

But the main determinant of the inverse interrelationships between productivity and satisfaction is the motivational differences between workers within the second factor: higher productivity is also accompanied by pretensions to a higher wage (such a relationship is absent in the first factor). Such pretensions give rise to dissatisfaction not so much with the wage itself as with the working conditions, since the respondents, who are oriented toward the wage, see the causes, which are checking the increase of their monetary remuneration, precisely in the shortcomings of the system of the planning of work and its norm setting (in the unfounded revision of the norms, for example), in the imperfection of the equipment and the lack of smoothness of production. Thus, dissatisfaction with working conditions arises within the mentioned factor for two reasons: first, the workers, who are more productive and are oriented toward the wage, regard these conditions as a certain obstacle to the increase of the latter and, second, they would like to achieve their goal at the cost of less fatigue, for which, in their opinion, it is also necessary to improve the working conditions.

FOOTNOTES

1. In all 4,003 workers were surveyed, of them 2,233 were men and 1,770 were women. Productivity was measured in the following manner. The foreman evaluated the fulfillment of the output norm by the respondent, the quality of work, his discipline and initiative. Moreover, he answered the question, how do they characterize this worker in the shop: "they consider him a leader" (4), "a worker in good repute" (3), "the worker is considered average" (2), "considered a laggard" (1). The higher the mark is, the greater the productivity of the worker is. The respondents rated their satisfaction with the different aspects of labor activity according to the scale: "completely satisfies" (5), "satisfies more than does not" (4), "cannot say exactly whether or not it satisfies" (3), "more likely does not satisfy" (2), "does not satisfy at all" (1). Moreover, when responding to the question "What do you like and what do you not like in your present job?" the appealing and unappealing aspects of work were singled out by the respondents. In the list of 17 items it was possible to mark any number of items [2, pp 325-326].
2. Low productivity corresponds to the gradations "1" and "2," while high productivity corresponds to the gradations "3" and "4" according to the scale "leader--laggard"; low satisfaction corresponds to the gradations "1" and "2," while high satisfaction corresponds to the gradations "4" and "5" (see footnote 1).
3. In all the scale has 17 points.

4. The size of each of the subsamples is about 600 people. The groups intersect, but insignificantly: only 84 people (14-15 percent of the size of the subsample) belong to both the first and the second groups.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FOOD PROGRAM: SOCIAL ASPECTS

RURAL POPULATION STABILIZATION

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[Article by E. A. Yelizar'yev (deceased), Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Aleksandrovich Zubkov, chief of a sector of the Institute of Socio-economic Problems of the Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Candidate of Technical Sciences Rudol'f Petrovich Kutenkov, senior scientific associate of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Saratov): "Factors of the Stabilization of the Rural Population"]

[Text] The organization of agro-industrial complexes is leading to the increase of the smoothness of agrarian labor, is stimulating the extensive combination of occupations, is changing the entire sociopsychological atmosphere of the countryside and is promoting the spread in rural areas of advanced types of activity and living standards. The proportion of operations in the maintenance of modern machinery and complicated equipment is increasing, which requires a knowledge and the use of industrial methods of the management of farming and animal husbandry and high overall standards. However, the growth rate of the demands of the rural population leads the possibilities of their satisfaction, which exist today in the countryside. This is giving rise to a certain dissatisfaction with the socioeconomic conditions of life in the countryside and is stimulating the migration of people from the countryside.

In 1982 a survey of workers of the agricultural enterprises and organizations of the nonproduction sphere of Saratov Oblast was conducted by the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex of the USSR Academy of Sciences for the purpose of studying the factors of the migration of rural inhabitants to the city and elaborating measures on their stabilization.¹

The aspiration to increase one's occupational skills and general educational level and the developed need for interpersonal contact are characteristic of the modern rural worker, that is, as a whole the same characteristics as in the system of needs of the urban industrial worker dominate. However, given

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a comparable total income the structure and volume of consumption of the named social groups differ very significantly. The differences appear to a smaller extent in case of the meeting of the fundamental needs of life and to a greater extent in case of the accomplishment of sociocultural aims.

Approximately 45 percent of the residents of neighboring villages and representatives of all age groups regularly come to the city which is the rayon center (for shopping, the obtaining of personal services, medical and preventive service and so on). Young people (7-8 people out of 10) visit the rayon center in order to meet primarily sociocultural needs, people of middle age--to meet social needs. Up to 75 percent of the respondents make trips during working time. According to our calculations, its losses are equivalent to the daily absence from workplaces of 35,000-37,000 rural workers. Moreover, up to 30 percent of the vehicles of the farms are diverted for visiting the city. In a year the direct economic loss from such trips for Saratov Oblast exceed 145 million rubles, while for the Volga River Region--800 million rubles.

In all 52.4 percent of the respondents visit the small city for the purpose of purchasing clothing, footwear, knitted items, children's goods and certain foodstuffs. It should be noted that it is a question of goods of an adequate assortment, the demand for which can and should be met directly at the place of residence. Even the simple redistribution of resources among organizations of state and cooperative trade and the systematic and timely delivery of the necessary goods to rural population centers can yield a significant impact. Calculations show that as a result of the implementation of such measures the frequency of the trips of rural workers to cities which are rayon centers can be decreased by approximately 30-32 percent.

The social infrastructure of the majority of rayon centers, as a rule, is designed for serving only the local population and therefore is functioning with a great excessive strain. The shortage of skilled personnel in the sphere of trade and personal service is also complicating the situation. That is why in rural settlements those sectors of the social infrastructure, which are called upon to meet the fundamental needs of life of the workers of the countryside and which first of all make housekeeping easier for women and thereby contribute to their more complete involvement in social production, should be developed in every way.

It is noteworthy that the small city does not attract 45.6 percent of the rural inhabitants. They are forced to go there only for the meeting of sociocultural and personal needs. Among women this percentage is even higher--58.4. At the same time 71 percent of those surveyed are satisfied with the functioning of the social infrastructure in the countryside, including 49 percent--with the operation of trade, 38 percent--mass cultural institutions, 34 percent--children's preschool institutions, 43 percent--the operation of personal service enterprises.

In accordance with the results of the study the respondents were divided into three categories, which were arbitrarily called "potential migrants," "potentially stable rural inhabitants" and "unidentified."

The people, who prefer to live in the city and plan to move to it in the next 5 years, are assigned to the first group. The proportion of the representatives of this group is 3.8 percent. The respondents, who prefer to live in the countryside, do not intend in the next 5 years to move to the city or another rural area and believe that rural life as a whole is better than urban life, belong to "the potentially stable." In all 44.8 percent are such. In all 51.4 percent do not have specific life plans, including with respect to moving to the city.

The small size of the group of potential migrants is explained, in our opinion, by the fact that in practice moving to the city involves certain difficulties. This requires the solution of such problems as the obtaining of a city residence permit and an apartment and the job placement of the respondent and the members of his family. Let us also note that the adaptation of rural residents to the urban way of life does not always occur easily [2]. A move is usually planned only when specific guarantees of setting oneself up in the city exist. The representatives of the group in question are younger and have a higher educational level than the people who belong to the other groups. In particular, about 84 percent of the potential migrants, 61 percent of the potentially stable people and 70 percent of the "unidentified" belong to the age cohort of up to 45 years old. In all 58 percent of the potential migrants, 33 percent of the respondents of the group of "stable" people and about 50 percent of those belonging to the category "others" have a complete secondary education and higher education.

Among potential migrants and the "unidentified" the percentage of workers not involved in agricultural labor is slightly higher than among the potentially stable people. In the category of the "potentially stable" people the proportion of people holding the positions of rank and file workers in agrarian production is the highest (91.5 percent) and the proportion of middle-level managers is the lowest (3.4 percent). More than half of the workers among the "potentially stable" people are representatives of occupations with a low level of the mechanization of labor, while among potential migrants and the "unidentified" the corresponding indicators are equal to 37 and 41 percent.

As a whole 68 percent of the managers and chief specialists of agriculture, 60 percent of the middle-level managers and 52 percent of the rank and file workers belong to the groups of either potential migrants or the "unidentified." The question arises: How is one to decrease the level of migration to the city? What is the priority of the socioeconomic measures on the attachment of personnel to the countryside?

About 74 percent of those surveyed (including 76 percent of the potential migrants, 75 percent of the "unidentified" and 73 percent of the "potentially stable") link the carrying out of their personal plans primarily with the reorganization of the countryside. Let us turn in this connection to the responses to the question: "What measures, in your opinion, promote to the greatest extent the attachment of personnel to the countryside?" (see Table 1). The cited data on the importance of the measures correlate quite well with the reasons which are responsible for the departure of rural inhabitants to the city. In all 75 percent of the respondents indicated as the main reason the more stable schedule of work and relaxation in the city,

44 percent--the standard of living, 40 percent--the conditions for the raising of children, about 30 percent--the more extensive opportunities for the obtaining of an education and specialty.

Table 1

Factors of Attachment of Personnel to the Countryside, Percent of Those Who Responded in the Group*

Measures	Categories of respondents**			As a whole for the sample
	I	II	III	
Housing construction.	79.0	58.3	89.1	74.9
Improvement of working conditions	44.2	41.1	52.1	46.8
Improvement of schedule of work and relaxation.	48.8	36.4	44.0	40.7
Mechanization of labor.	23.2	28.8	51.7	40.4
Improvement of cultural and personal service.	32.6	33.6	42.8	38.3
Civic improvements of villages. .	32.6	36.2	38.4	37.2
Attentive attitude of management to personnel, needs and concerns of people	25.6	23.9	36.2	30.3
Development of road transportation system	34.9	20.6	30.9	26.4
Decrease of difficult physical and manual labor.	30.2	22.1	26.6	24.7
Improvement of conditions for raising and educating children. .	27.7	15.4	22.6	19.5

*The respondent could mark several items.

**I--potential migrants; II--potentially stable; III--"unidentified."

Since the construction of housing with modern conveniences is, in the opinion of those surveyed, of particular importance for the attachment of personnel, we conducted in addition a special study, the results of which are presented in Table 2-4. More than 50 percent of those surveyed live in state houses of the farmstead type, about 36 percent--in their own houses, approximately 6 percent--in apartment houses of the urban type. It is interesting that the number of respondents, who spoke for their own or a state (kolkhoz) house of the farmstead type, practically coincides with the number of those surveyed who live in such houses. It is possible to assume that they enjoy the greatest popularity. However, respectively 70 and 60 percent of their tenants are satisfied² with houses of the farmstead type or their own houses. For apartment houses of the urban type the indicator comes to only 16 percent, for the entire sample--62 percent.

The data attest (see Table 3) that the satisfaction with the actual type of housing, as a rule, increases with the age of the respondent. At the same time in each age group it varies subject to the category of those surveyed. Potential migrants are least satisfied, the "potentially stable" people are the most satisfied. Here among potential migrants the highest coefficient of

satisfaction is recorded in the age group of 31-44. However, its value is considerably less than for the age group of the "unidentified" up to 30, in which the mentioned indicators has the smallest value. A similar ratio is also characteristic of the "potentially stable" people and the "unidentified."

Table 2

Housing Conditions of Respondents and Their Opinions About the Desired Type of Housing

Type of housing at present	Size of group	Desired type of housing*			
		1	2	3	4
Own house.	410	248	131	28	3
State kolkhoz house of farmstead type.	635	142	446	43	4
State apartment house of urban type.	64	8	46	10	-
Private apartment.	6	1	4	1	-
Dormitory.	2	1	1	-	-
Apartment house without conveniences	4	1	2	1	-
Other housing.	8	1	6	1	-
Total.	1129	402	636	84	7

* 1--own house; 2--state (kolkhoz) house of farmstead type; 3--state apartment house of urban type; 4--any house with all conveniences.

Table 3

Value of Coefficient of Satisfaction With Type of Housing for Different Categories of Respondents, percent

Categories of respondents	Age groups		
	up to 30	31-44	45 and over
Potential migrants.	35.3	47.4	42.8
Potentially stable inhabitants.	62.2	69.0	67.6
"Unidentified".	57.3	60.2	62.0
Average for group	57.8	63.5	64.6

Table 4

Orientation Toward Type of House of Those Not Satisfied With Their Housing, Percent of Total Number of Those Not Satisfied in Given Age Group

Age groups of respondents	Desired type of housing*			
	1	2	3	4
Up to 30.	39.5	36.4	23.2	0.9
31-44	40.5	42.9	14.1	2.5
45 and over	27.8	55.6	15.0	1.6

* 1--own house; 2--state (kolkhoz) house of farmstead type; 3--state apartment house of urban type; 4--any house with all conveniences.

The conclusion is clear: it is necessary to plan rural housing construction with allowance made for the desire of the inhabitants. Thus, according to the results of the survey among the respondents, who are not satisfied with the actual type of housing, 36 percent would like to live in their own houses of the farmstead type, 45 percent--in state houses of the farmstead type, 17 percent--in apartment houses of the urban type (see Table 4).

The proportion of people wishing to live in their own houses is quite high in all the age groups. On the average for the sample the satisfaction with the quality of housing³ (49 percent) is less than the satisfaction with the actual type of housing (62 percent). As a whole, according to our calculations, in S. ratov Oblast houses of the farmstead type should make up approximately 65-70 percent of the amount of state construction. At the same time the obtained data attest that the local authorities for the present are still not giving rural inhabitants adequate assistance in the construction of their own houses. The very low percentage of respondents, who plan in the next 5 years to build their own house (11 percent of the total number of those not satisfied with housing, 13 percent in the group of "potentially stable" people), is explained in part by this.

One should also touch upon the question of the adaptation of urban migrants in the countryside. The results of a written questionnaire show: the stratum of former city residents among the "potential migrants" comes to 48.8 percent, in the group of "potentially stable" people--21.1 percent and "unidentified"--about 30 percent. Table 5 gives an idea about the reasons for moving.

Table 5

Reasons for Moving to the Countryside of Residents of the City, Percent of Those Who Responded Among Former City Residents in Given Group*

Reasons	Categories of respondents**			As a whole for sample
	I	II	III	
Assignment to job, job transfer, family circumstances.	85.6	49.5	72.1	65.1
Difficulties of urban life.	9.6	13.1	27.8	21.4
Move at one's own desire (likes rural life, aspiration to live where one was born and so forth). .	9.5	43.0	31.8	34.2

* The respondent could mark several items.

** I--potential migrants; II--potentially stable; III--"unidentified."

Among potential migrants the proportion of respondents, who moved to the countryside for "compulsory" reasons, is the highest and the proportion of people, who changed their place of residents at their own desire, is especially low. In the group of "potentially stable" people the ratio between the mentioned categories of city residents is nearly the opposite. The "unidentified" hold an intermediate position. The data, thus, make it possible to infer difficulties of the adaptation of former city residents in rural areas. It is necessary to elaborate and implement special measures which would promote the rapid adaptation of migrants from the city to the rural way of life.

The conducted study attests that social factors are having a greater and greater influence on the stability of the rural population. Obviously, the economic production situation in the population center to a certain extent is also perceived by people through their "prism." Consequently, it is necessary to solve the arising problems collectively and first of all by the creation of such economic, social and cultural conditions, which would promote the improvement of the way of life of the rural population.

FOOTNOTES

1. The sample is a three-stage one. In all 1,129 people were surveyed. The choice of the units is made in accordance with the territorial production attributes (in all about 30 indicators). According to the typology of T. I. Zaslavskaya, Saratov Oblast is typical of the Volga River Region [1].
2. The coefficient of satisfaction with the type of housing was calculated as the ratio of the number of respondents of the given group, who are actually satisfied with the type of housing, to the total size of the group.
3. The indicator is calculated as the ratio (in percent) of the proportion of respondents, who are satisfied with their housing, to the total size of the given group.

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APPLIED RESEARCH

MANPOWER IN CONSUMER SERVICES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
(signed to press 27 Oct 83) pp 78-84

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences Yan Aleksandrovich Davidovich, senior scientific associate of the Institute of Economic Problems of the Comprehensive Development of the National Economy of Moscow, and Candidate of Economic Sciences Avtandil Guseyn ogly Kosayev, senior scientific associate of the Institute of Economic Problems of the Comprehensive Development of the National Economy of Moscow: "The Regular Labor Force of the Consumer Service Sphere: Structure, Skills, Reasons for Turnover"]

[Text] "...To implement measures on the more complete supply of the system of consumer services with skilled personnel, the broadening and strengthening of the educational and material base of vocational and technical and a number of other educational institutions of the sector, the increase of the skill of and the teaching of second occupations to workers of enterprises, the increase of the material interest in the introduction of new types of services and forms of service."

From the decree of the CPSU Central Committee
and the USSR Council of Ministers "On the Further
Development and Improvement of Consumer Services"

A significant portion of the material, financial and manpower resources of society is channelled annually into the sphere of personal service. Whereas in the total number of those employed in the national economy in 1965 the proportion of personal service workers came to 1.72 percent, in 1980 it came to 2.34 percent [1]. The fixed capital increased from 3.4 billion rubles in 1975 to 4.4 billion rubles in 1979, or by 29.5 percent [2]. The number of personal service enterprises increased from 192,600 in 1965 to 280,000 at present, or

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by 1.4-fold; during the 10th Five-Year Plan alone 7,700 enterprises were put into operation.

As excess of the increase of those employed in the service sphere as compared with the increase of those employed in physical production is characteristic of industrially developed countries, including the USSR. Thus, according to our calculations, whereas the average annual number of those employed in the national economy of the country during the period from 1965 to 1980 increased by 146.2 percent, the number of those employed in the sectors of the consumer service sphere¹ increased by 162.7 percent.

Along with the influx of manpower resources from the sphere of physical production, the manpower in the personal service sphere is being reinforced by means of the extensive attraction of housewives, retirees and students. The increase of the employment of this category of people in the service sphere is due to a number of reasons: the increase of the need of the national economy of the city for manpower in connection with the acceleration of the rate of development of the sector; the limitedness of manpower resources in major cities owing to the peculiarities of the present demographic situation (the decline of the birth rate, the aging of the population).

According to the calculations of the RSFSR State Committee for Labor, approximately 10 percent of the people of retirement age, who were previously employed in industry and construction, continue to work in personal services [3, p 25]. As to people of retirement age among workers of the sector, 80 percent of those who continue to work remain at their own enterprises, and 90 percent remain in their former positions [ibid.]. As a result the proportion of retirees in personal services of the capital exceeds by nearly twofold the analogous indicator for the national economy of the city as a whole. In Moscow in 1980 as compared with 1975 the number of working retirees at personal service enterprises had increased by 13.4 percent, while their proportion comes to 16.8 percent among those employed in the sector. In the future the proportion of middle-aged people in the service sphere will increase more rapidly than in the other sectors of the national economy, since there are 1.5- to 1.8-fold more workers of an age, which approaches retirement age, here than, for example, in industry [4].

Along with the increase of the proportion of people of older ages, in the total number of those employed in the sector the proportion of working women is also increasing. Now it amounts here to 76 percent [3, p 24]. The amount of the wage, the small physical loads and the convenient work schedule (the nearly complete absence of night shifts, the extensive use of a sliding schedule, work at home, a schedule of a partial shift or a partial work week) attract working women of the mass occupations.

In order to determine to what extent the qualitative composition of those employed in the sector meets the requirements of production, a survey was conducted in 1979 at the enterprises of the Consumer Services Administration of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee in accordance with the method developed by the Institute of Economic Problems of the Comprehensive Development of the National Economy of Moscow.² The age and occupational skills structure of two contingents of workers: those who quit and those who went to work at the

enterprises of the administration in 1979, were compared in order to study the causes and scale of the turnover.

The surveyed population included workers of the leading occupations, who make up the largest proportion among the workers of the entire sector. Among them are: shoemakers, representatives of construction specialties, radio repairmen, barbers and hairdressers, fitters and a number of others. In all 787 people who quit and 884 people who went to work at the enterprises of the administration in 1979 were covered by a continuous survey. More than 2,100 workers were surveyed during the representative sampling. The sample came to not less than 10 percent of each of the surveyed occupational groups.

The level of skills of the workers, which is closely connected with the level of their general educational and specialized training, is the most important indicator which characterizes the ability of the sector to meet the needs of the population, which are becoming complicated qualitatively and are being differentiated more and more. As compared with other sectors in personal services this level is quite high: 58 percent of those surveyed have an education to the extent of the 10th grade and higher. This in many ways is improving the subjective prerequisites of the increase of the standards of labor.

As for vocational training, 37.9 percent of those surveyed graduates from a vocational and technical school, 15.6 percent have a secondary specialized education, 3.1 percent have a higher education; 15.9 percent obtain a specialty directly on the job. A significant gap exists in the level of specialized training of the occupational groups of workers of the sector. Whereas in 1979 on the average 27.5 percent of those surveyed did not have vocational training, among radio repairmen this indicator was equal to 15.1 percent, among workers of construction specialties--22.7 percent, among barbers and hairdressers--33.1 percent, among fitters--38.3 percent, among shoemakers--75.0 percent. Thus, educational production combines, vocational and technical schools and courses are still far from completely meeting the need of the sector for skilled personnel. Individual brigade training directly at the enterprise, when the main attention is direction to labor skills, while studies in the problems of culture and ethics are almost completely absent, remains the basic form of training of personnel for personal services. In recent times considerable efforts have been taken to expand the network of educational institutions which carry out the training of skilled workers for personal services. However, the personnel shortage still remains significant.

In this connection the initiative of the Komsomol Central Committee on the sending by way of a public appeal of a large detachment of Komsomol members and young people for work in the system of personal services, as well as the measures on the attraction of retirees, housewives and students to enterprises of the sector, which were envisaged by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers (of 30 March 1983), seem extremely important.

In the sector the proportion of workers, who have specialized training and a long length of service, is quite high. It is not surprising that more than half of those surveyed (58.7 percent) are highly skilled workers who have categories 5 and 6, category 4 has been awarded to 24.2 percent, and only 17.1 percent have categories 1-3.

Table 1

Breakdown of Workers of Basic Occupations at Personal Service Enterprises
Subject to Obtained Education, percent

Specialties	Individual brigade training	Vocational and technical school	Tekhnikum	Higher educational institution	No specialized education
Fitters.	14.9	25.3	18.8	2.7	38.3
Shoemakers	14.9	9.1	1.9	-	75.0
Construction workers	25.8	42.4	7.6	1.5	22.7
Radio repairmen.	4.5	59.2	17.8	4.4	15.1
Barbers and hairdressers	26.3	18.7	18.3	3.6	33.1
Others	17.2	57.1	11.7	0.9	13.3
Average.	15.9	37.9	15.6	3.1	27.5

Table 2

Breakdown of Workers Placed in Jobs by Assignment of the City Bureau
for the Job Placement and Information of the Population at Enterprises of
the Service Sphere, percent

Placed in job by assignment of the bureau	Trade and public dining	Housing and municipal services and personal service
From industry.	13.1	13.3
From construction.	4.0	5.5
From agriculture	0.6	1.0
From trade and public dining . . .	39.0	11.7
From housing and municipal services and personal service.	3.4	16.0
From transportation enterprises. .	6.3	7.1
From other sectors of the national economy.	33.6	45.4

The materials of statistics do not make it possible to determine accurately enough the degree of conformity of the qualitative characterization of manpower to the requirements of production. For this let us use the data of a sample survey which was conducted in 1978 by the Statistical Administration of Moscow among the workers who were placed in jobs during the year by assignment of the City Bureau for the Job Placement and Information of the Population. The materials of the survey show (Table 2) that at enterprises of housing and municipal services and personal service 84 percent of the contingent of those

employed is made up by means of workers who have been released from other sectors of the national economy, including from industry--13.3 percent, from trade and public dining--11.7 percent, from transportation--7.1 percent. The picture at enterprises of trade and public dining is similar. It was also established by the survey: among those hired at enterprises of housing and municipal services and personal service from other sectors 67 percent of the workers changed occupation, in trade 58 percent are such people. The cited data attest that a deviation of the occupational structure from the requirements of production is also observed in case of the organized reinforcement of the personnel. At the same time a portion of the workers, who independently got a job at personal service enterprises, have vocational training which meets the requirements of the sector. The analysis of the data of Table 3 shows that among those who independently got a job in housing and municipal services 61.4 percent changed sector, in personal service 44.9 percent did. In all 18.1 percent of the workers of the sphere of personal service previously worked in the same sector, 13.7 percent are graduates of vocational and technical schools. The vocational training of a portion of the workers, who came from other sectors of the national economy, meets the needs of new production, this pertains first of all to the workers of construction specialties, radio repairmen, motor transport drivers and fitters.

Table 3

Sources of Reinforcement of Enterprises of Housing and Municipal Services and Personal Service With Workers, percent

Came to enterprises	Housing and municipal services	Personal service
From secondary school.	12.1	8.0
From vocational and technical schools.	2.3	13.7
From Soviet Army	1.0	12.5
From trade	7.2	2.8
From personal service.	16.0	18.1
From other sectors of the national economy . .	61.4	44.9

The increase of the stability of the labor collectives of the service sphere presumes the identification of the reasons for going to work and the degree of satisfaction with it. According to the data of our survey, 40 percent of those surveyed chose the place of work in conformity with their vocation, 22.5 percent--on the advice of relatives and acquaintances, 8.5 percent--due to the proximity to the place of residence, 18.6 percent--by chance. The greatest proportion among those working according to their vocation is in the group of radio repairment (55.2 percent). At the same time 27.3 percent of the barbers and hairdressers chose the job by chance. As was noted above, in precisely this occupational group there are especially many people with a higher and secondary specialized education.

Among the reasons for dissatisfaction with work the representatives of the different occupations place in the forefront various production and social factors (Table 4). Thus, fitters and radio repairmen first of all name great nervous tension, barbers and hairdressers--the amount of the wage, shoemakers--dissatisfaction with housing conditions.

Table 4

Causes of Dissatisfaction With Work in Personal Service Sphere, percent

Occupation	Great nervous strain	Lack of housing	Insufficiently high wage	Distance of place of work from place of residence	Great material responsibility	Lack of prospects of advancement	Impossibility of increasing level of education	Dissatisfaction with specialty	Physically difficult work
Fitters	26.9	18.8	11.3	15.0	9.2	4.4	2.5	1.9	10.0
Shoemakers.	7.7	46.2	10.3	23.0	5.1	-	-	2.6	5.1
Workers of construction specialties	19.7	19.8	14.0	18.6	2.3	7.0	-	1.2	17.4
Radio repairmen	37.9	24.2	12.9	10.7	5.1	1.9	1.0	0.7	5.6
Barbers and hairdressers. . .	21.4	13.6	25.5	12.0	5.0	6.8	2.7	3.2	9.8
Others.	23.9	20.9	22.6	11.8	1.7	5.0	3.0	0.3	10.8
Average	28.2	20.2	18.2	12.3	4.7	4.3	1.9	1.6	8.6

The dissatisfaction with production and social conditions is the most important factor of the turnover. The continuous survey of all those who quit during 1979 showed: as the main reason for their quitting 21.9 percent of the respondents named the distance of the place of work from housing, 12.1 percent--dissatisfaction with the wage, 11.0 percent--the nervous strain. These data are confirmed by the materials of a survey of more than 4,000 workers of the Administration for Custom Sewing and Repair of Clothing, which was conducted by the Institute of Economic Problems of the Comprehensive Development of the National Economy of Moscow. Here 22.8 percent get their discharge owing to family circumstances (90 percent of all the workers at custom sewing enterprises are women). The other reasons for quitting are dissatisfaction with the working conditions--19.5 percent, the amount of the wage--9.4 percent and the chosen occupation--8.7 percent [5].

The analysis of the age structure of those who quit in 1979 shows that the groups of workers over the age of 60 and 50-59 years old (respectively 4.5 and 12.6 percent of the total number of those who quit), as well as the group of workers 30-39 years old (25.6 percent) are the most stable. There are especially many who quit (42.6 percent) among workers 18-29 years old. The latter is characteristic of all occupational groups. In 1979 39 percent of the young fitters, 42.6 percent of the barbers and hairdressers, as well as 50.4 percent of the radio repairmen quit.

An important cause of the turnover of young people is the high level of their general educational and specialized training as compared with the nature and content of the jobs being performed (suffice it to say that 75.7 percent of those who quit studied at higher educational institutions and tekhnikums). Due to the inadequate development of production young people with a high level of education are used for a long time in unskilled jobs, without having a clear prospect of advancement within the occupation. All this arouses the desire to transfer to a different place and to change occupation.

The fact that in personal service (just as in other sectors of the consumer service sphere), although the level of education is taken into account when appointing someone to one position or another, it does not play an important role, is also a reason for the turnover of personnel with a high education. Moreover, the level of skill here, to an even greater extent than in physical production, depends not on the general educational training, but on the length of service in the specialty. Of course, this decreases the interest of workers in increasing their general educational level and contributes to the turnover of personnel at the enterprises and in the organizations of the sector.

In addition to young people who have a higher and secondary education, semi-skilled and unskilled workers frequently leave the personal service sphere (44.3 percent). Of those who quit in 1979 the people, who do not have a vocational education, made up among fitters 78 percent, shoemakers--61 percent, workers of construction specialties--56 percent, barbers and hairdressers--34.8 percent. Moreover, in the group of fitters 49.9 percent were people with up to a 9th grade education, among workers of construction specialties and shoemakers this indicator is even higher: respectively 63.0 and 90.4 percent.

The comparison of the contingents of those who quit and those who were hired in 1979 shows that the level of general educational and specialized training among novices is higher. Thus, the proportion of workers with up to a 7th grade education among those who quit comes to 17.1 percent, while among those who were hired--9.6 percent, with a secondary education--respectively 54.3 and 66.2 percent. The same kind of picture is observed when comparing the vocational training of workers. Among those who quit the proportion of those who graduated from vocational and technical schools is 23.6 percent, higher educational institutions and tekhnikums--26.8 percent, without specialized training--44.3 percent; among those who were hired 31.3 percent graduated from vocational and technical schools, 28.9 percent graduated from higher educational institutions and tekhnikums, 36 percent do not have specialized training.

Owing to the indicated trend at the enterprises of the personal service sphere the number of those employed in unskilled labor is decreasing, the qualitative composition of the workers is improving.

The relatively high level of the turnover of personnel in the sector (nearly a fourth of the workers are replaced annually [6]) is leading to the decrease of labor productivity. It is well known that the labor productivity of a worker during the last 2 weeks before his discharge decreases by approximately 20 percent, while newly hired workers achieve the average level of output only a month after going to work (during this period the labor productivity of the novice is 30 percent less than the average) [7]. This leads, in particular,

to the underperformance of services at the enterprises of the RSFSR Ministry of Consumer Services in the amount of 11-12 million rubles annually [8]. The state is incurring considerable expenses in connection with the training and retraining of the workers who have taken over from the former workers. The turnover of personnel leads to the decrease of the quality of work and the increase of defective output. In 1978 in all about 3.2 million man-days were lost due to the turnover, which is equivalent to the diversion of nearly 16,000 people from social production [3, p 53].

A high turnover of personnel at individual enterprises decreases production efficiency. In this connection the main attention of the administration should be directed to the improvement of production and everyday conditions, the development of the creative nature of labor on the basis of the improvement of its organization, the increase of technical equipment, first of all the mechanization and automation of difficult manual labor, the amount of which in the RSFSR comes to about a half of all the labor expenditures in the sector [9]. At the enterprises of the Consumer Services Administration of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee the proportion of the workers, who are engaged in manual labor, comes to 61 percent. Labor here has been mechanized significantly less than in industry (with the exception of such types of service as the repair of motor transport, laundries, dry cleaning).

The consolidation of enterprises is a most important condition of the implementation of the achievements of technical progress in the service sphere. At large enterprises realistic opportunities exist for the introduction and profitable use of highly productive machinery. Along with mechanization it is necessary to increase the shift system of the operation of enterprises, to enlarge the service areas, to increase the utilization ratio of equipment within the shift, to introduce more extensively the combining of occupations and the brigade form of the organization of labor and to master related operations. All this promotes the increase of labor productivity, the decrease of the number of personnel and first of all the proportion of unskilled workers. Mechanization changes the nature and content of labor, makes it more appealing, promotes the increase of the educational and skills level of workers and increases the prestige of the sector.

For the improvement of the training of personnel at personal service enterprises it is important to bring the system of on-the-job training in line with the requirements of the workplaces. When hiring it should be taken into account, to what extent the level of education of the novice conforms to the nature of the forthcoming job. Young people, who are being attracted to personal service, should receive a vocational training with leave from work. As to the very prevalent individual brigade form of training, it should be maintained for the retraining of those who previously worked in other sectors, for people of retirement age and homeworkers, particularly women with young children. The comprehensive implementation of all these measures will promote the improvement of the social structure and will ensure an increase of the efficiency and quality of service.

FOOTNOTES

1. All the sectors of the nonproduction sphere, as well as trade and public dining are assigned to the service sphere.
2. In 1976 the proportion of workers in the total number of those employed in personal service and housing and municipal services came to 81 percent [3, p 17].

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7807

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SOCIAL, OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN MENTAL, PHYSICAL LABOR

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[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Sergey Panchanovich Mukasyan, chief of the Department of Social Statistics of the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration, and Candidate of Economic Sciences Lyubov' Vasil'yevna Umanets, senior scientific associate of the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration: "Mental and Physical Labor: The Statistical Registration of Social and Occupational Differences"]

[Text] The division of workers into those employed in primarily physical and primarily mental labor is one of the most significant characteristics of the social differentiation of labor. In statistical practice the corresponding grouping is usually carried out on the basis of the affiliation of people with specific social groups: workers and kolkhozes farmers are grouped with those employed in primarily physical labor, while employees, including the managers and specialists of kolkhozes, are grouped with those employed in primarily mental labor.¹ Such a methodological approach formed under the conditions when primarily the quantitative parameters of the development of different types of activity had an influence on the dynamics of physical and mental labor. This appeared in the rapid increase of the number of employees of the nonproduction sectors of the national economy: health care, education, science; in the significant increase of the educational level of the working people, which was caused by the retirement of people who had completed the 6th-8th grades with the simultaneous coming of able-bodied age of people with a higher level of educational and specialized training and so on.

Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution the constant increase of the level of mechanization of production and the complication of its organizational structure are occurring. As a result a larger and larger number of operations, in the performance of which the worker expended

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considerable muscular efforts, are being transferred to the machine. In labor activity the proportion of mental labor is increasing. Moreover, this process is also characteristic of primarily physical labor. Its quality is also increasing--the simplest operations of calculation, monitoring and control are being transferred to automatic machines, while the worker is beginning to work on the problems of the adjustment and regulation of equipment, the control of the entire technological process and so on. Thus, "this labor is being filled more and more with an intellectual content" [1].

At the same time as the increase of the meaningfulness of labor the level of education and the professional level of workers are increasing rapidly. Thus, during the period between the last two censuses in the group of workers of primarily physical labor the proportion of people with a higher and secondary specialized education increased by 148 percent, while in the group of those employed in primarily mental labor it increased by only 19.5 percent (calculated according to [3]). In other words, the growth rate of the number of people with a higher and secondary specialized education among workers and kolkhoz farmers was 7.5-fold greater than among employees. As a result the gap between workers of mental and physical labor according to the indicator of education decreased from 20-fold to 9-fold. At present about 1 million people with diplomas of tekhnikums and higher educational institutions are employed at workplaces in industry alone, which comes to approximately 23 percent of the total number of people with a higher and secondary specialized education, who work in this sector of the national economy (calculated according to [4, p 396]).

Of course, the increase of the scale of the use of specialists as workers is not always dictated by production necessity and to a significant extent stems from the shortcomings of the organization and remuneration of labor [5]. Nevertheless the objective nature and the intensification of this trend are unquestionable. Thus, now among the working class occupations, which exist in the national economy and require high skill, 385² presume, according to the established norms, that the worker has a secondary specialized, or else a higher education [6].

Finally, in the labor of workers and kolkhoz farmers the proportion of creative elements is increasing, which finds expression in the intensification of the movement of rationalizers and inventors. According to our calculations, from 1965 to 1981 the number of the latter increased by 1.6-fold, the number of submitted rationalization proposals increased by 1.2-fold and the number of implemented ones increased by 1.4-fold. The saving from introduction increased by 3.6-fold [4, p 99; 7--the calculation is ours].

As a result of the effect of the mentioned trends a large group of "worker-intellectuals" formed. It is no longer possible to group the representatives of this stratum with workers of primarily physical labor. In addition to occupational characteristics such personal qualities as a broad outlook, high standards and active participation in social life, as a rule, also distinguish them.

As for employees, this group is also qualitatively heterogeneous. Along with workers of creative, engineering labor the proportion of people, who perform

simple duties, is large in it. According to data of "The All-Union Classifier of the Occupations of Workers, the Positions of Employees and Wage Categories," there are 147 positions of technical performers, who are engaged in accounting, monitoring, the preparation and drawing up of documents and economic service. It is a question of various kinds of agents, people on duty, office workers, cashiers, calculators, superintendents, typists, work assigners, custodians, bookkeepers, timekeepers, shipping clerks and so on. The labor of these workers consists of comparatively simple, stereotypic operations, which, as a rule, do not require a secondary specialized education. Such activity conforms least of all to the concept of mental labor.

Consequently, the profound changes which are occurring today in the nature and especially the content of the labor process in physical production require the development of a more flexible classification of the people who are engaged in both mental and physical labor, the distinction of the marginal strata subject to the nature of their labor, particularly the elements of creativity and calculating, analytical and logical functions. Thus, among the workers, whose activity involves physical labor, it is possible to single out the group of those employed in highly skilled, primarily mental labor in combination with physical labor ("worker-intellectuals" will be the nucleus of this group); the group of those employed in skilled, primarily physical labor in combination with mental labor; and, finally, those employed in unskilled manual, including difficult physical labor. The precise determination of the boundaries of the last group is especially important, since at present a comprehensive program of the decrease of manual labor is being elaborated and in part is already being implemented in practice.

Among the people employed in mental labor it is advisable to distinguish the group of workers of primarily creative labor in the forms of management and scientific research activity; the group of workers of mental labor, who combine creative and performer labor, and the group of workers of unskilled performer labor. The opinion exists that such a differentiation of the workers of mental labor is not necessary, since the prevailing classification of employees into managers, specialists and technical performers performs its functions. However, the degree of creativity in the structure of activity is taken into account in less detail in this method than in the proposed method. Thus, today they usually include in the group of specialists both the workers of complicated, highly skilled mental labor, who are employed in scientific research and other types of creative, research activity, and the people who combine in different proportions performer labor with creative labor.

In 1981 a survey was conducted by the Department of Social Statistics of the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration for the purpose of compiling a list of working class occupations, which require primarily mental labor in combination with physical labor.³ When analyzing the nature of activity the following parameters were taken into account: 1) the content of the labor functions, the performance of which is envisaged by the corresponding standard documents; the need for the worker to make independent decisions, to carry out active observation, to regulate the progress of the technological process, to perform complicated calculating and analytical functions, to manage subordinates and so forth; 2) skills (as a rule, workers of categories V-VI were chosen); 3) the level of specialized knowledge (it

was proposed that such knowledge should be at the level of not less than the tekhnikum).

The problem of the precise specification of the composition of labor functions presented particular difficulty in the study. Under the influence of scientific and technical progress the content of the labor process is changing in two directions. The decrease of the proportion of muscular efforts, the increase of the meaningfulness of labor and the increase in it of the proportion of the intellectual components are the main one. However, in a number of instances in case of a decrease of the amount of physical efforts labor activity as a whole acquires a pronounced performer nature. It is a question, in our opinion, of a kind of transformation of physical labor into an activity with the minimum expenditures of muscle power, but with a relatively low meaningfulness. Such labor is prevalent at strictly regulated works, its distinctive trait is the presence of specific occupational skills which ensure the achievement of automatism in work. Undoubtedly, the corresponding occupations cannot be regarded as occupations of intellectual labor.⁴

Such indicators as the breadth of the occupational specialization (the set of jobs or production operations being performed), the attendance of especially complex, special-purpose equipment and similar qualitative characteristics of the labor process are also taken into account when determining the occupations with primarily mental expenditures of labor.

As a result of the study 140 working class occupations, which require primarily mental labor in combination with physical labor, were selected. The number of occupations, which were included in the obtained list, is significantly less than their number, for example, in the list of highly skilled working class occupations, for the mastery of which at least a secondary specialized education is required. Such a situation is quite natural. Training at the level of the tekhnikum is needed by workers who are engaged in skilled types of labor, both primarily mental and primarily physical. Therefore there were included in the list of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, first, occupations with the predominance of expenditures of mental labor and, second, occupations in the structure of which the functions of skilled manual, and at times physically difficult labor play the basic role. Many specialties of repair work, construction and installation work, major mining operations, the mining sectors and the sectors for the production of petroleum and gas and others (electricians for power networks and electrical equipment, mechanics for the repair of mining equipment, drillers of deep wells and wells with complicated geological conditions, specialists of the workover of wells), for example, are grouped here.

When characterizing as a whole the list of occupations of workers of intellectual labor, it is possible to distinguish first of all the following large groups. Testers who work with complicated special-purpose equipment on stands. Among them are testers of motors, machines, devices and instruments in the electrical equipment and electronics industries, the aircraft industry, shipbuilding and others. The people of these specialties have a high level of skill (they usually have only category VI), a breadth of occupational specialization (they engage in the control, adjustment, regulation, installation, assembly and repair of complicated technological equipment), a significant amount

of specialized knowledge (for example, in the area of the theory of the cutting of metals, the principles of mechanics, electrical engineering, radio engineering, applied and physical optics, telemechanics and radiomechanics and others). Here, as the studies showed, the worker spends a larger portion of the time on the performance of primarily mental operations, especially calculating and analytical operations and monitoring and regulating operations.

The people, in whose activity the functions of monitoring predominate, are also grouped with the workers engaged in meaningful labor. The occupation of inspector is widespread in the national economy. However, only the people, who are engaged in fitting operations and the machining of metals in ferrous metallurgy, the electronics industry, in the production of radio equipment, aircraft, musical instruments and in several other spheres, were included in the list compiled by us. Here only inspectors of the highest skill, that is, of category VI, who are engaged in the production of especially complicated unique items and use precision control and measuring equipment, were selected. Such specialists not only detect defects, but also take part in the elaboration of measures on their elimination and prevention and carry out instruction on monitoring in individual operations and related sections of production. As a rule, such specialists are trained from among experienced workers, who have completely mastered the entire technological complex which is to be monitored. The great responsibility and precision in the carrying out of monitoring, the ability to run complicated electronic equipment and the presence of functions of a manager also require a high level of knowledge (at the level of not less than the *tekhnikum*).

The workers of the highest skill (categories V-VI), who carry out the study of concealed defects in items of special complexity and configuration by means of ultrasonic, magnetic and helium inspection and X-ray photography, were included in the group of flaw detectors who are among those employed in primarily mental labor. Flaw detectors of aeronautics in the production of aircraft and their equipment, precision calibrators in the production of the masks of color picture tubes and the inspectors of machinery in shipbuilding and ship repair are included in the group in question.

Highly skilled laboratory workers are engaged in primarily mental labor in combination with physical labor. This group unites occupations, which are common to all the sectors of the national economy, as well as occupations, which are characteristic of only individual works. Workers of this kind carry out critical analyses with the use of the numerous calculations and measurements on the basis of the use of complicated instruments and equipment and compile highly skilled reports independently or jointly with engineers and technicians.

The determination of the occupation of workers of intellectual labor in the sphere of instrument control processes presented great difficulty. In the opinion of many specialists, it is advisable to include highly skilled instrument control men, who are employed in the chemical, petrochemical and other sectors, in the group of workers of primarily mental labor on the basis that among them the functions of inspection and the monitoring of the progress of the technological process predominate. However, according to the data of the study, the meaningfulness of the labor of a significant number of workers of these occupations is quite low: the majority of instrument control processes

are strictly regulated while the functions of instrument control men usually reduce to the passive supervision of the progress of the technological process. In our opinion, only the instrument control men, who are engaged in the production of medical, bacterial and biological compounds and materials, constitute an exception, since they bear increased responsibility for the observance of the processing method. The monitoring and supervision in this case are of an active nature and require thorough theoretical knowledge. Not by chance did precisely the occupations of instrument control man and laboratory worker of medical production become the first working class specialties, a mandatory demand on which was the having of a secondary specialized education.

The highly skilled instrument control men, who are employed in nonferrous metallurgy and the electronics industry, were also included in the list. The workers of these occupations actively intervene in the technological process and carry out the adjustment and regulation of the most complicated equipment, which requires a secondary specialized and, in a number of instances, a higher engineering education.

The occupations of machine operators were evaluated according to a similar principle. Highly skilled (categories VI-VIII) machine operators of the pulp and paper and the steelmaking industries and representatives of the senior duty personnel of electric power stations (senior machine operators of the power blocks, the boiler and turbine shops, the high pressure boiler houses) were included here. Functions of the control of the entire technological process and the supervision of subordinates (also of high skill), who are responsible for a specific section or stage of production, predominate in the content of the labor of the workers of these occupations.

Of the large number of occupations of operators the operators of computers, as well as electronic equipment and automatic machines in the printing industry were included in the list. Such workers have, as a rule, a high skills category, their labor activity involves not only the control of the technological process, but also the performance of "purely" mental functions: the calculation of parameters, the correction of the text and others.

Active intervention in the production technology, the control, adjustment and regulation of the most complicated equipment are also characteristic of a number of other occupations--gas engineers of the blast furnace in ferrous metallurgy and furnace operators in nonferrous metallurgy, a number of new occupations, which have recently appeared in steelmaking and in welding operations.

The singling out of workers of primarily intellectual labor among adjusters caused significant difficulties. Some researchers believe that in this area of activity narrow specialization should exist and does exist: the engineer carries out the adjustment of the control portion of the equipment, while the worker carries out the adjustment of the mechanical portion. Hence the conclusion is drawn: the expenditures of mental energy of workers who are adjusters are negligible and, consequently, it is impossible to include them in the group of workers of intellectual labor. Such an opinion seems one-sided to us. But even if one proceeds from the need for the division of the functions of the engineer and the worker, in order to adjust the most complicated equipment to the initial parameters, which are specified in the program developed by the engineer, the latter has to make numerous measurements and

calculations. Frequently an experienced highly skilled worker takes part, as the study showed, in the adjustment of both the control and the operating systems of the equipment. What has been said pertains first of all to adjusters of category VI, who are engaged in the adjustment of especially complicated machine tools, automatic lines and units with programmed control.

Such occupations (of categories V-VI) as the adjusters of electronic instruments and musical instruments, the regulators of individual types of equipment (in a number of instances specialists with a higher education are attracted to these workplaces), the measurers of the parameters of electronic instruments in the radio industry, the markers in the aircraft industry and shipbuilding and the chalk markers in the sewing industry were also included in the list. Butter and cheese makers and the makers of minced meat in the meat industry were also grouped with the workers of intellectual labor. This stems from the increased responsibility of such specialists for the entire cycle of the preparation of products. The work in such an occupation presumes the use of engineering skills in combination with organizing abilities.

The list includes occupations with a primarily creative orientation in labor. Among them are: highly skilled artists, which are engaged in the making of artistic and souvenir items, painters of the porcelain and earthenware industry, color matchers of the printing industry, movie and television studios, cutters of the highest categories of custom tailoring shops. Independence and the originality of the decisions being made in case of the devising and layout of a design, the making up of formulas, the development of standards of dyes and the choice of styles distinguish these workers.

It is customary to assign numerous occupations, which involve the repair of equipment, apparatus and so on, to the specialties, the workers of which are engaged in primarily physical labor in combination with mental labor. Our study made it possible to distinguish here at least two occupations of primarily mental labor in combination with physical labor--radio repairmen for the servicing and repair of radio and television equipment of particular complexity (category VI) and restorers and repairmen of musical instruments (also category VI). The workers of the mentioned occupations spend considerable time on the identification of the malfunctions, the adjustment, regulation and tuning of the equipment and instruments, the making up of rough drawings and diagrams for the unit being restored and others.

Finally, a number of occupations, which were included in the list, are close in the content of labor to the positions of skilled employees, that is, they presume primarily expenditures of mental labor in combination with performer labor. It is a question, for example, of highly skilled proofreaders in the printing industry.

The group of occupations, which is made up of: the supplier of export lumber, who performs monitoring operations of increased complexity and responsibility; the navigator of the crew at production enterprises, the navigator at enterprises of aerial photography, the ship commander, the pilot, the navigator, the flight mechanic and the flight radio operator of test flight stations, who are engaged in the testing of new types of aircraft or aircraft which have undergone repair, is associated with the group which was just examined. The

inclusion of the entire crew of test pilots in the group of workers with the predominance of mental expenditures of labor is due to the following circumstance. According to the data of the study, the listed specialists are engaged approximately 30 percent of the time directly in the piloting of the airplane, that is, in activity, in which the proportion of elements of physical labor is high. The remaining time is spent on the drawing up of reports, the elaboration of recommendations on the improvement of the design and the elimination of the defects and technical shortcomings of the aircraft.

The suggestion on the distinction in the group of workers of physical labor of a subgroup of people, who are engaged in primarily mental labor in combination with physical labor, was approved by a section of the Scientific Council of the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration. For the purpose of determining the number of workers, who make up this group, it was deemed expedient to carry out their one-time comprehensive registration. In the future it is necessary, obviously, to repeat such a measure periodically, for example, once in 5 years, having linked it with the implementation of the regular five-year plan.

At the same time it is correct to regard the listed measures as the first stage of the transition to the more differentiated accounting of mental and physical labor. The need for this is dictated by the intensification of the integration of various types of labor. Thus, it is possible to assume that within the framework of mature socialism some groups of engineering and technical personnel and specialists (foremen, shift engineers, agronomists, livestock experts, geodesists, geologists, volcanologists, meteorologists and others), whose labor activity involves significant expenditures of physical energy, will merge with the detachment of "workers-intellectuals" and form one group of workers of primarily mental labor in combination with physical labor. However, in our opinion, today it is already advisable to regard the latter group as a relatively independent group, along with the groups of workers of mental and physical labor. At the same time it should be taken into account that in physical production the proportion of people, in whose activity primarily creative elements and functions predominate, is constantly increasing. Therefore the mentioned group is "gravitating," and as time passes to a greater extent, toward the group of workers of mental labor.

Summarizing what has been said, let us stress: the elaboration of methods of breaking down workers by types of labor and the improvement of the practice of accounting will make it possible to increase significantly the effectiveness of the measures which are aimed at the achievement of the socioeconomic homogeneity of labor. The use of the proposed approach in the practice of planning and management will help managers, sociologists and economists to specify specific means of the formation of an advanced occupational skills structure of personnel and to use more completely in the technical development of production the creative potentials of labor and other social factors.

FOOTNOTES

1. Such an approach frequently leads to the automatic transfer of a worker from one group to another in case of a change of his social status. Thus,

in the 1970 census the operators of key-operated calculators, punchcard calculators and computers, telephone operators, telegraph operators, radio operators and so forth were assigned to the group of employees and accordingly were regarded as people engaged in primarily mental labor. The mentioned occupations were included in the group of workers by "The All-Union Classifier of the Occupations of Workers, the Positions of Employees and Wage Categories," which was put into effect in 1976 [2]. According to the data of the 1979 census, they are included among the people engaged in primarily physical labor. Meanwhile, the content of the labor of these workers has increased, since more complicated equipment, which requires of attendants the performance of a significant number of logical functions with a decrease of the proportion of performer operations, was put into operation in past years.

2. The data of 1980. Since this time the number of such occupations has increased.
3. The materials of "The Unified Job and Wage Rates Classification Manual of the Jobs and Occupations of Workers" [8], "The List of Occupations of Workers of the Highest Categories, Which in the Level of Skill Require a Secondary Specialized Education," which was approved by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems [6], "The All-Union Classifier of the Occupations of Workers, the Positions of Employees and Wage Categories," the supplements to the job and wage rates classification manuals [9] and a number of other documents were used when selecting the occupations. In the process of the study consultations were held with specialists in labor of the corresponding ministries and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems. The content of the labor functions of the workers was studied directly at the enterprises.
4. In recent years, for example, the number of occupations, in the structure of which the function of supervision holds a significant place, has increased. The latter, in the opinion of many specialists, should be grouped with mental labor. On this basis it is proposed to include the people, who carry out such activity, in the group of workers of intellectual labor. However, as a number of surveys show, supervision is a heterogeneous process. Very often this is not creative, but mechanical actions on the visual monitoring of the operation of instruments and automatic machines, the recording of the indicators in logs, that is, labor with a low meaningfulness. The use of the concept "transformable physical labor" made it possible to make the necessary demarcation. Passive supervision, which is not of a pronounced performer nature, was not regarded as intellectual activity, and the corresponding occupations were not included in the list of occupations of primarily mental labor in combination with physical labor. Only active supervision, which is accompanied by direct intervention in the technological process (for example, regulation) or by increased responsibility for the maintenance of the set parameters, was grouped with the elements of mental labor.

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PRODUCTION ACTIVITY OF YOUNG WORKERS

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[Article By Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Ivan Nikolayevich Ryndya, senior scientific associate of the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee: "The Production Activity of Young Workers"]

[Text] The increase of the activeness of young people in the sphere of labor and social activity, creative scientific and technical work and production management is promoting progressive changes in the material and technical base of enterprises and the socio-occupational structure of collectives and is shortening the period of adaptation of novices.

The materials of our study¹ showed that the majority of boys and girls work conscientiously, with complete dedication. More than 40 percent of those surveyed up to the age of 30 constantly fulfill and exceed the production assignments, about 75 percent do not have reproofs on the quality of work, one in three turns over products on first appearance, 87 percent of the young workers never violate labor discipline. At the same time significant reserves of the further increase of the efficiency of labor of novices were revealed. Thus, only 3.1 percent of those surveyed are workers of outstanding quality, the right to work with a personal stamp has been granted to only 2 percent of the young workers (which is nearly a third as many as among people of older age), some of those surveyed are not coping with the production assignments.

The fulfillment of the norms first of all depends on skill, therefore the young workers with low skills (categories 1-2) have average indicators for the collective, while about 10 percent are not coping at all with the assignments. At the same time more than half of the highly skilled workers (categories 5-6) constantly fulfill the plans and only 5 percent are among the laggards.

The further increase of the labor activeness of young workers is directly connected with the increase of the level of organization and discipline, the decrease of losses of working time, the increase of skills and interest in the

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affairs of the collective. In this respect novices are significantly inferior to workers of an older age (see Table 1).

Table 1

Indicators of Labor Activeness of Workers Subject to Length of Service at Enterprise (Percent of People With a High Level of Activeness)*

Categories of workers	Fulfillment of production assignments	Product quality	Level of discipline	Participation in competition	Increase of skills	Attitude toward affairs of collective
Young workers (length of service of up to 1 year)	31.2	14.7	17.6	24.7	24.9	31.0
Young workers (length of service of up to 3 years)	35.3	17.3	21.0	27.1	26.3	30.9
Young workers (length of service of up to 4-5 years)	27.0	26.0	31.1	41.5	35.0	40.6
Experienced workers (length of service of more than 10 years)	57.4	35.1	42.5	53.1	41.2	52.4
All workers.	47.0	26.1	30.5	40.2	32.6	40.4

* The indicators of the high, average and low levels were obtained on the basis of the certification sheets, which were filled out by an expert commission made up of the foreman, the brigade leader and the trade union organizer.

Boys and girls condemn violators of discipline,² however, far from everyone, but only about a third actively come forward with criticism. A similar situation has also formed with respect to embezzlers of socialist property: about half of those surveyed consider it necessary to create in the collectives an atmosphere of intolerance toward thefts, but only 37 percent of those surveyed actually take part in the eradication of mismanagement. This testifies to a certain discrepancy between the convictions, opinions, appraisals and practical actions of young workers, to significant oversights in the ideological and moral education of novices and the need for more purposeful work of the labor collectives and party and Komsomol organizations on the formation of an active position in life.

Scientific and technical activeness increases with the increase of the level of education and skills. The peak of creative maturity of rationalizers falls to the age of 26-30. At this age 25 percent of them submit in a year four and more suggestions each.

The study showed that a large portion of the young workers are oriented toward the continuation of their education and the increase of their occupational skill. However, in fact the situation is somewhat different: in the youngest age group (up to 22) about 25 percent of the novices do not increase their

skills, among the graduates of vocational and technical skills their number is also quite large--20-22 percent. The workers themselves believe that to master a specialty completely and to achieve mastery they need first of all an increase of occupational knowledge (30 percent of those surveyed indicated this), the improvement of working conditions (24 percent), the assistance of older comrades and tutors (18 percent) and the improvement of the organization of labor (17 percent).

The materials of the study also showed that young workers, as a rule, begin work at the enterprise with unskilled labor. Frequently the novices find themselves in a "disadvantageous" position as compared with other socio-occupational groups (Tables 2, 3). One surveyed person in three up to the age of 30 (and among novices nearly half are such) is assigned to the group of workers of unskilled work (in the other age groups there are two-fifths as many people of this kind).

Table 2

Breakdown of Workers by Type of Mechanization of Labor, Percent

Length of service	Difficult manual labor without use of machines	Work on a conveyor	Work as machine operator performing one operation	Work at semi-automatic machines	Skilled manual labor using tools	Work on adjustment, repair, control	Other types of labor*
Young workers with a length of service of up to 1 year (N=926). . .	5.6	18.4	15.5	6.2	23.2	4.9	26.2
Experienced workers (N=1,052). . .	9.3	5.4	12.4	6.1	28.8	13.4	24.6

* Mainly workers of manual labor with the use of machines and devices ended up in this group.

Table 2

Breakdown of Workers by Level of Skills, Percent

Level of skills	Age, years	
	up to 30	over 30
Categories 1-2 and apprentices.	29.0	11.9
Categories 3-4.	49.8	38.8
Categories 5-6.	17.6	43.9
No information.	3.6	5.4

It is noteworthy that about 44 percent of the workers of older age (as against 17.6 percent of the young workers) have a high level of skills and high categories (5-6) and, consequently, a larger wage. Thus, 31.2 percent of the workers up to the age of 30 and only 13.4 percent of those over 30 receive up to 120 rubles a month, while respectively 13 and 40 percent receive a high wage (more than 200 rubles). Such a situation requires of the administration and the party and Komsomol organizations of enterprises the improvement of the norm setting and remuneration of the labor of young people, the shortening of the period of the occupational formation of novices by the improvement of training, the rapid transfer to boys and girls of knowledge, skill, advanced methods of labor and the experience of experienced workers.

Many researchers take as the basic characteristic of the process of the adaptation of young workers the production indicators, while they call the period, during which novices begin to fulfill the norms at the average level for the collective, the adaptation threshold. As a rule, the majority achieve it after 3 years of work at the works [5, pp 201-202]. However, the materials of our studies showed that the adaptation process is much more complicated, it by no means reduces to the mastering of an occupation. Only in the fifth year of work in the collective is it possible to say that young workers according to the level of efficiency and quality of labor and in the attitude toward the affairs of the collective approach the norms, that is, reach the adaptation threshold. True, substantial differences are also observed here (see Tables 4, 5). Since the results of labor activity to a significant extent depend on the length of service and vocational training, it is quite natural that novices with a high level of skill (among them one in three is a graduate of the vocational and technical school) reach the adaptation threshold considerably more rapidly than workers with a low and average level. Here the length of service plays the decisive role. Being closely connected with the skills and the amount of the wage, the length of service at the enterprise to a significant extent is a characterization of "to what extent the worker has become an experienced worker, who embodies the best qualities of the working class, which determine its leading role in our society" [6, p 151].

The analysis of the value orientations of young workers in the labor sphere showed that the majority are oriented toward the social importance and creative nature of labor in combination with a good wage. These motives are closely interconnected with the interest in the mastering of a trade and in occupational advancement, as well as with motives of a material order. At the same time we did not detect a close connection between the increase of the wage and the increase of the number of workers who placed the creative possibilities of labor in first place. It is necessary, however, to take into account that a high orientation toward primarily mental labor, which involves the continuation of studies, had formed among young people back during the school years, and many regard their occupation as a temporary one before enrolling in a higher educational institution or tekhnikum and are striving to find a job which is close to the type of future specialty. Precisely for this reason young workers have such a high mobility during the first 3 years (mainly in the youngest age group--up to 22). As the materials of the study show, during this period the desire to transfer to another enterprise to work arose among half of those surveyed.

Table 4

Indicators of Activeness of Young Workers During the First 3 Years of Work at the Enterprise (Percent of People With a High Level of Activeness)

Category of workers	Fulfillment of production as- signments	Product quality	Participation in competition	Level of discipline	Increase of skills	Attitude toward affairs of col- lective
Young workers who are graduates of schools (low level of skills).	32.7	17.3	22.2	19.9	25.9	29.8
Young workers who are graduates of vocational and technical schools	46.2	25.8	39.8	33.3	34.1	44.3
Young workers with a length of service of 4-5 years	47.0	26.0	41.5	31.1	35.0	40.6

Table 5

Indicators of Production Activity of Workers Subject to Level of Skills (Percent of People With a High Level of Activeness)

Categories and groups of workers	Fulfillment of production as- signments	Product quality	Participation in competition	Level of discipline	Increase of skills	Attitude toward affairs of col- lective
Workers with categories 1-2 and apprentices.	32.7	17.3	22.2	19.9	25.9	29.8
Workers with categories 3-4.	37.2	18.2	30.9	21.7	23.9	30.6
Highly skilled workers (categories 5-6).	46.5	24.2	38.1	27.8	35.7	39.6
Workers with a length of service of 4-5 years.	47.0	26.0	41.5	31.1	35.0	40.6

The decrease of manual labor, the formation and development of the need for the constant enrichment of knowledge, the broadening of one's outlook, the formation of love and respect for work and the cultivation among children and adolescents of the conviction that any labor, at any workplace, be it in industry, construction, agriculture or services, is honorable, are one of the urgent tasks which are connected with the further increase of the efficiency of the labor of young people.

FOOTNOTES

1. In all 5,930 workers, including 57.3 percent up to the age of 30, were surveyed. The study was conducted by staff members of the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee with the participation of the author during 1976-1980 at 16 enterprises of the country. The sample is a cluster, multistage sample, with the selection of typical regions, enterprises, shops and primary collectives (brigades, links). For more detail on the sample and the goals of the study see [3, pp 80-81].
2. More than three-fourths of the young workers believe that it is necessary to punish violators of discipline and slipshod workers in a most drastic manner. Only 6 percent expressed the opinion that the actions of such workers are their personal business. (It is possible to assume that among them there are those who themselves commit violations of discipline.)

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SOCIAL PLANNING

PREVENTION OF DRUNKENNESS, ALCOHOLISM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
(signed to press 27 Oct 83) pp 96-105

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences and Lieutenant Colonel of Internal Services Grigoriy Grigor'yevich Zaigrayev, chief of a department of the Academy of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs: "On Several Peculiarities of the Prevention of Drunkenness"]

[Text] "The education of the new man is inseparable from the most vigorous struggle against drunkenness, hooliganism and parasitism, speculation and the embezzlement of socialist property, bribe taking and money grubbing."

From the materials of the June (1983)
CPSU Central Committee Plenum

The increase of the effectiveness of educational work and the improvement of management and planning require the intensification of the struggle against the antipodes of the socialist way of life, among which are drunkenness and alcoholism. The elaboration of effective practical steps on the decrease and elimination of drunkenness in many ways depends on the effectiveness of the scientific research at the meeting point of criminology and sociology. The interest in this question in recent years has increased noticeably, to which, in particular, the increase of the number of publications and practical scientific recommendations, which are devoted to this theme, attests. However, scientists frequently take the beaten path and continue to "try to prove" that drunkenness is an evil. The sociological interpretation of the problems of

G. G. Zaigrayev is the author of the books "Prichiny p'yanstva i mery bor'by s nim" [The Causes of Drunkenness and Measures of Combatting It] (1966), "Puti preodoleniya perezhitkov proshlogo v soznanii i povedenii sovetskikh lyudey" [The Means of Overcoming Survivals of the Past in the Consciousness and Behavior of the Soviet People] (1966, in joint authorship), "Proizvodstvennyy kollektiv i trudovaya distsiplina" [The Production Collective and Labor Discipline] (1976), "Problemy profilaktiki p'yanstva na promyshlennom predpriyatii" [The Problems of the Prevention of Drunkenness at an Industrial Enterprise] (1983, in joint authorship), "Profilaktika p'yanstva i alkogolizma" [The Prevention of Drunkenness and Alcoholism] (1983, in joint authorship). He is publishing a work in our journal for the first time.

combatting drunkenness and alcoholism goes far beyond the framework of the simple statement of the negative consequences of this type of deviant behavior.

The prevention of drunkenness and alcoholism should be based on the accurate and objective analysis of the sociodemographic and cultural changes which are responsible for the dynamics of the consumption of alcoholic beverages in the country. Moreover, not the quantitative parameters, but the qualitative definiteness of the unique "behavioral syndrome," which is characteristic of different groups of potential consumers of alcohol (including the type of individual, his social adaptation, the assimilation of cultural norms and so forth), is of paramount interest for the sociologist. Moreover, effective steps on the prediction and early prevention of alcoholism cannot but be based on the study of "macrofactors": the social and regional peculiarities of the way of life of the population, which significantly distinguish the consumption of alcoholic beverages.

It is necessary to note that in recent years as a result of the active work of party, state and public organizations on the tightening up of discipline it has been possible to make definite gains in the eradication of drunkenness and the improvement of the alcohol situation in the country [3]. At the same time, there can be no grounds for complacency here. The fulfillment of the tasks outlined by the party on the education of the new man and the improvement of mass political work is incompatible with the existing cases of the abuse of alcoholic beverages. Therefore we see the main task of the article in the individualized analysis of alcohol situations and the determination of the "bottlenecks" which require the priority attention of researchers and experienced workers.

Certain changes in the structure of alcohol consumption have occurred first of all due to the involvement in it of new sociodemographic groups and strata. The migration of tens of millions of rural inhabitants to the rapidly developing industrial centers radically changed the system of the vital activity of people, including the nature and means of the realization of alcohol aims. Without idealizing at all the rural way of life, it should all the same be admitted that under the conditions of the city the scale of alcohol consumption is significantly higher. The data of statistics confirm the interrelationship of the latter with urbanization. Thus, in the RSFSR the proportion of city residents during the period from 1959 to 1979 increased from 52 to 69 percent, in Latvia--from 36 to 68 percent, in Lithuania--from 37 to 61 percent [4]. The growth rate of the per capita consumption of alcohol during this period in these republics exceeded the all-union indicators by respectively 1.3-, 1.6- and 1.7-fold.

The extension of "urban" standards of behavior to women and young people had a definite influence on the nature of the consumption of alcoholic beverages. As was established by the sociological studies conducted by us in Moscow, Kirov and Novgorod, about 30 percent of the adult women do not consume alcoholic beverages at all. As to young people 16-17 years old, the analogous indicator comes for boys to 20 percent and for girls to 40 percent. In our opinion, here not the fact in itself of the consumption of alcoholic beverages (the number of those completely rejecting them, apparently, will decrease), but the question "What do they drink and how?" which is connected with the cultivation

of the culture of contact, is important. The experience of the socialist countries, in which considerable attention is being devoted to the development of the "infrastructure" of leisure, is useful in this respect.

The present alcohol situation in the country to a significant extent is due to the social anomalies which World War II caused. Countless calamities, deprivations, the loss of family and relatives--all this disturbed the customary style of life and the material and family well-being of millions of Soviet people and hampered the campaign against the development of alcohol consumption. Whereas during the prewar period a steady decline of the per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages (which came in 1940 to 1.9 l of absolute alcohol as against 3.41 l in 1913 [5; 11, p 67]) was observed, the first two postwar decades, on the contrary, were marked by a high growth rate. Thus, in the 1950's it came to 10.5 percent and in the 1960's--6.7 percent. During the next 10 years as a result of the active implementation of preventive measures it was possible to decrease the growth rate of the consumption of wines and liquors to 3.2 percent a year [6], and then, in 1980-1982, also to ensure a decrease (by 6 percent) of the level of the per capita consumption of vodka [7].

Table 1

Per Capita Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages (15 Years Old and Older)
in Countries of the World, l of Absolute Alcohol

Countries	1976	Average annual change of con- sumption dur- ing 1970-1976, percent	Countries	1976	Average annual change of con- sumption dur- ing 1970-1976, percent
France.	21.3	-2	Yugoslavia. . .	12.0	+3
Portugal.	19.4	+4	CSSR.	11.9	-3
Spain	19.3	+2	Denmark	11.8	+4
Luxembourg. . . .	16.8	+0.6	Canada.	11.7	+4
Italy	16.8	-3	USSR.	11.3*	+3.2**
FRG	15.8	-0.2	Netherlands . .	11.1	+7
Austria	14.6	+2	Great Britain .	11.0	+5
New Zealand . . .	13.7	+4	Poland.	10.8	+7
Hungary	13.4	+0.6	United States .	10.7	+2
Australia	13.3	+1	GDR	10.5	0
Switzerland . . .	13.2	-2	Finland	8.1	+5
Belgium	13.2	0	Sweden.	7.6	-1
Ireland	12.6	+12	Norway.	5.6	+5

* Data for 1980.

** Dynamics for 1978-1979.

Sources: UNESCO COURIER, No 2, 1982, p 24; "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1970 godu" [The USSR National Economy in 1970], Moscow, Statistika, 1971, pp 7, 254; "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g." [The USSR National Economy in 1980], Moscow, Finansy i statistika, 1981, pp 7, 192.

It is noteworthy that the dynamics of alcohol consumption in the economically developed countries of the world (Table 1) completely refute the "fact" mentioned in some publications that in the West the problem of alcoholism does not exist. The consumption of alcoholic beverages, for example, in France is two-fold greater than in our country. But the essence of the matter does not lie in this. The problem consists first of all in the use of all the advantages of the socialist system for the complete eradication of social deviations in the consumption of alcoholic beverages and the cultivation of a genuine culture of consumption.

The cases of the abuse of alcoholic beverages, of which drunkenness and alcoholism are the extreme form, significantly complicate the accomplishment of important state tasks. Let us take as an example the problem of the supply of the national economy with manpower, which is exceptionally urgent for our country. The urgency of the problem in many ways depends here on the disastrous consequences of the abuse of alcoholic beverages. Many people of able-bodied age due to the morbid addiction to alcohol (people up to the age of 45 make up three-fourths of the alcoholics) for a long time, frequently years, do not engage in socially useful labor, become socially degraded and lead a parasitic way of life. Social production loses millions of man-days due to unauthorized absences and lengthy interruptions in work, which in the majority of cases are connected with drunkenness.

The successful accomplishment of such an important social task as the strengthening of the family also depends to a significant extent on the effectiveness of the anti-alcohol campaign. The analysis of the divorce cases according to the materials of the civil registry offices of four cities of the RSFSR shows: in 32-45 percent of the cases the alcohol abuse of one of the spouses served as a reason for the divorces. Annually 861,000 couples get divorces. This means that each year from 300,000 to 400,000 families collapse in the country under the influence of drunkenness [8].

For the present it is impossible to call the eradication of drunkenness sufficiently successful and to call the forms and methods being used to combat it sufficiently effective. The determined optimization of the efforts of society in this direction is necessary, which can be achieved, in our opinion, first of all on the condition of the clear specification of the goals and tasks of anti-alcohol activity.

Such a statement of the question presumes the clarification of the nature of the phenomenon in question and the comprehensive study of the entire set of factors which contribute to its preservation under socialism.

At present the point of view, according to which the drastic restriction, and then the complete halt of the production and sale of alcoholic beverages should be the most effective means of eradicating drunkenness, has become very widespread. For the confirmation of their position some authors [9] use the well-known thesis of K. Marx that production always gives rise to an item, a means and inclination for consumption.

This assertion is correct to the extent that alcohol has a narcotic effect on the body, while its systematic use develops in a person the corresponding habit,

which in case of mass prevalence, regardless of other reasons, maintains a stable demand for alcoholic beverages. Moreover, supply can actively stimulate the demand for some wines and liquors or others and thus influence the level of alcohol consumption and the nature of its consequences. For example, the lack of a wide assortment of high quality alcoholic beverages (as well as the relatively high prices for those of them, which are on sale) forces people to give preference to some types of products or others, creating the prerequisites for single-type alcohol consumption. The mass surveys conducted by us in Kirov and Novgorod in 1980-1982 (in all 2,970 people were surveyed) revealed that only half of the needs of the population for dry and fine grape wines are being met. In the opinion of those surveyed, the elimination of this deficit, as well as the substantial increase of the production of beer would decrease the number of people who drink primarily vodka and other hard beverages. In short, the well-considered regulation of the production and sale of alcoholic beverages can become one of the methods of decreasing the scale of drunkenness. It would be incorrect to assume that the accessibility of alcoholic beverages has a decisive influence on the level of alcohol consumption. Such an opinion narrows the essence of the causal complex of drunkenness and reduces it to the narcotic properties of alcohol.

The supporters of another approach see the basis of success of the campaign against drunkenness in the making of administrative legal and other compulsory measures more strict and in the creation of an atmosphere of intolerance around drunkards and alcoholics.

Of course, the advisability of resolute measures of social and administrative influence on people, who abuse alcoholic beverages, is not to be doubted--for they not only constantly disorganize various spheres of social life, but also contribute to the attraction to their ranks of their associates, especially young people. However, the concentration of attention primarily on the administrative compulsory aspect of the campaign against drunkards also, in our opinion, signifies the oversimplification of the problem. In practice this has the result that many factors, which are responsible for drunkenness, fall from the field of view of the organizers of preventive work and remain outside its framework. It should also be stressed: the unjustifiably extensive use of legal measures inevitably does harm to the other methods of education.

The search for means of the eradication of drunkenness and its effective prevention is impossible without the thorough study of the mechanism and the conditions of the spread of this complicated social phenomenon. And here, so it seems to us, it is important to take into account the following thing. People frequently resort to alcohol in order to feel elation, to decrease mental strain, to deaden the feeling of fatigue and moral discontent, to escape reality with its worries and emotional experiences. Alcohol helps some people to overcome the psychological barrier and to establish emotional contacts, for others, especially minors, it acts as a means of self-assertion and the possibility of showing "courage" and "adulthood."

Why does this happen? What contributes to the appearance among people of the increased need for a euphoric state, for the removal of stress, for the making of contact? What objective conditions and circumstances of life create the need for an artificial stimulant? We attempted to answer these questions,

having studied the social characteristics of two groups of respondents: the abusers of alcoholic beverages and those who lead a moderately abstinent way of life.¹

The comparative analysis of the characteristics, which include a wide spectrum of indicators (the conditions of education at an early age, the content and organization of the labor, leisure and other aspects of the vital activity of the subjects, their moral views and value orientations, the degree of social activeness and so on), made it possible to reveal a number of factors which influence the level and nature of alcohol consumption. Education and culture, the degree of development of spiritual requirements and the skills of the wise use of free time proved to be the most significant. Thus, among workers with an incomplete secondary education the frequency of antisocial acts due to drunkenness was 1.6-fold greater than among those who have a secondary education.

In the group of workers who abuse alcohol, as compared with the control group, there are nearly two-fifths as many people who regularly engage in amateur creative work, have a home library and read fiction, and one-fourth as many of those who engage in physical culture and sports. And, on the contrary, among the representatives of this group the percentage of those who prefer the spending of time with friends and the playing of cards and dominoes is much greater. Only 25 percent of those fond of alcohol go together with their children for walks, to the movies and the stadium and travel outside the city; the same number take part in community work; 33 percent help keep house. In the control group respectively 40, 70 and 64 percent do. Here it turned out that the influence of low culture on the development of drunkenness among those respondents, whose spiritual requirements lag noticeably behind the level of material security, as well as in instances of the unsatisfactory organization of the leisure of working people, is especially significant.²

During the study a definite link was established between the prevalence of drunkenness and the kind of occupations, the nature and the conditions of the labor activity of the respondents. Thus, among workers the workers of unskilled labor abuse alcoholic beverages more than others. For example, at the plants surveyed by us (the Onega Tractor Plant, the Voronezh Plant of Heavy-Duty Power Presses and the Kirov Machine Building Plant imeni 1 Maya) unskilled workers ended up in medical treatment centers for alcoholics 2.5-fold more often than highly skilled workers. The following fact also attracts attention: among those who are employed at places with harmful and difficult working conditions there are 1.7-fold more people who experience a morbid addiction to alcoholic beverages than among the entire population of workers of enterprises.

Numerous customs and traditions, which dictate to people stereotypes of alcoholic behavior in specific situations of life, play a significant role in the intensification of alcohol consumption. Nearly two-thirds of the experts surveyed by us--representatives of party, soviet and law enforcement organs, leading workers, engineering and technical personnel, teachers, physicians and so forth (in all more than 2,000 people were surveyed)--indicated this. The study of the responses of the people, who are brought to medical treatment centers for alcoholics, also leads to such a conclusion. All this raises the

question of the need for more resolute and effective actions on the debunking and eradication of harmful customs and traditions as an important factor in the solution of the problem of decreasing the scale of drunkenness.

The weakening of the sociopsychological mechanism of the reproduction and spread of drunkenness requires the implementation of measures of not only a ideological and cultural educational, but also an economic nature, for it is well known that traditions have firm bases both in social consciousness and in the everyday material sphere of the vital activity of broad strata of the population. The June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized that it would be incorrect to see in drunkenness, hooliganism and other abnormal phenomena only survivals of the past. "The causes of many of these 'sores' should also be sought in today's practice, in the miscalculations of some workers or others, in the real problems and difficulties of our development, in the shortcomings of educational activity. Therefore not only constant propaganda efforts, but also measures of an economic, organizational and legal order are necessary for the elimination of negative phenomena" [1].

The frequency and nature of alcohol consumption change substantially subject to the sociodemographic characteristics of people. For example, according to the data of the already mentioned mass surveys of the population in Novgorod and Kirov women resort to alcoholic beverages one-fifth as often as men in case of a bad mood, troubles at work and at home, and one-sixth as often out of boredom, when there is nothing to do and so on. As a whole the frequency of consumption of alcoholic beverages among women is two-ninths as great as among men. In contrast to male drunkenness, female drunkenness is less aggravated by elements of antisocial behavior, but the degree of risk of passing into the category of chronic alcoholics among drinking women is several times greater. Whereas among intoxicated disturbers of the peace women make up 5-6 percent, among alcoholics their proportion comes to 12-15 percent [11, p 74].

Table 2

Age Structure of People Abusing Alcohol,
percent of total number of those surveyed

Age	People brought to medical treatment centers for alcoholics	Alcohol abuse rate*	Patients registered at narcological institutions	Illness rate
18-19. . . .	3.6	0.64	0.3	--
20-24. . . .	12.8	0.85	3.2	0.21
25-29. . . .	16.5	1.09	10.0	0.66
30-39. . . .	28.0	1.43	31.4	1.60
40-49. . . .	27.1	1.27	37.9	1.76
50-59. . . .	10.9	0.80	14.6	1.06
60 and over.	1.0	0.15	2.6	0.35

* The rate is defined as the ratio of the proportion of the given attribute among people, who abuse alcoholic beverages, to the proportion of this attribute among the population over the age of 18.

The analysis of the age structure of drunkards and alcoholics in a number of cities of the RSFSR, the Ukraine and Belorussia (Table 2) attests: the rate of abuse of alcoholic beverages increases from one age group to another and achieves the highest level in the group of 30-39 years old (drunkenness) and 40-49 years old (alcoholism).

Of course, the data of surveys and the results of the comparative analysis of sociodemographic and other characteristics cannot serve as a sufficiently significant basis for the explanation of the causal complex of drunkenness, if they are examined in isolation of the real conditions of the vital activity of people, without the consideration of the influence on these conditions of the social, economic and demographic processes which are occurring at the level of both society as a whole and individual administrative regions.

We have already mentioned the significant role in the spread of alcohol consumption and especially in the determination of the nature of its consequences of the culture of consumption, or the culture of wine consumption, by which there is understood "the set of historically established traditions, rituals, norms and forms of group and individual behavior, which is connected with the intake of alcohol in different situations" [12]. Being a part of human culture, it includes not only the forms and conditions of consumption, the preferability of some types of alcoholic beverages or others, but also such important components as the nature of aims, the importance of the events and situations of life, which serve as a pretext for the drinking of alcoholic beverages.

In different regions of our country owing to the peculiarities of economic development, natural and climatic conditions and national traditions stereotypes of alcoholic behavior, which differ from each other qualitatively, operate, and depending on the culture of consumption, even in case of the same level of alcohol consumption, its consequences are far from identical (Table 3).

Table 3

Regional Breakdowns of Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages and Its Negative Consequences, Percent (Indicators for Country as a Whole Taken as 100 Percent)

Regions	Consumption of alcoholic beverages		Number of alcoholics (per 10,000 people of adult population)	Disturbance of peace while intoxicated (per 10,000 people of adult population)
	absolute alcohol	vodka		
RSFSR.	116.9	129.5	111.6	138.2
Baltic republics	124.3	111.9	95.0	95.4
Kazakhstan . . .	110.1	101.6	80.6	100.4
Central Asia . .	64.2	64.3	53.6	50.2
Transcaucasia. .	46.7	37.6	27.5	9.6
Ratio between minimum and maximum indicators .	1:2.5	1:3.4	1:4	1:14.4

Although what has been stated by no means exhausts all the diversity of the causes of the spread of drunkenness, nevertheless it is possible to draw the conclusion that this is a socially caused phenomenon and the organization of a system of social prevention is necessary for the effective combatting of it. It, in our opinion, should be a set of measures, which are implemented at different levels (society, the region, the microenvironment, the separate individual) and are called upon to ensure positive changes in different spheres of the vital activity of people, in the mass consciousness and attitude toward alcohol, in the position of state and public organizations and social institutions.

Unfortunately, due to the lack of broad comprehensive studies of the problem practice for the present does not have sufficiently reliable information on the economic, biomedical and legal aspects of the causal complex of drunkenness, which does not make it possible to determine all the basic directions of prevention and to compile the most complete list of effective means and methods of the anti-alcohol campaign. It is possible to group with the general social means of the prevention of drunkenness, as well as many other anti-social phenomena, the efforts of society on the successful accomplishment of socioeconomic and cultural educational tasks and the elimination on this basis of the adverse conditions and factors, which give rise to the psychological basis of the attraction toward alcoholic beverages, and the firm establishment in the daily life and interrelations of people of socially positive alternatives to alcohol. Along with this special preventive measures are also necessary: the regulation of the production and sale of wines and liquors, the formation of an atmosphere of the social condemnation of and intolerance toward drunkards, the assurance of the monitoring of the observance of anti-alcohol legislation and the behavior of drinkers, the anti-alcohol education of the population and first of all young people, the performance of individual preventive work with people, who experience a morbid addiction to alcoholic beverages, and so on.

Let us examine in more detail the directions of special preventive activity, the stepping up of which could, in our opinion, already in the immediate future appreciably lessen the urgency of the problems which are caused by drunkenness. First of all we have in mind propaganda work on the overcoming of the equable tolerant attitude of the population toward the consumption of alcoholic beverages and the creation of an atmosphere of intolerance toward drunkards. The overwhelming majority of the experts surveyed by us stated that the dynamics of alcohol consumption in one microenvironment or another and the state of the anti-alcohol campaign as a whole in many ways depend on the nature of the social atmosphere. Unfortunately, for the present public opinion is not having a noticeable influence on the checking of the increase of drunkenness. The role of the mass media: movies, television, the press, which have great possibilities for the emotionally reliable showing of the real picture of the disastrous consequences of the abuse of alcoholic beverages, the debunking of harmful "drinking" customs and traditions and the formation in the mass consciousness of a correct idea about the properties of alcohol, could be exceptionally great in the formation of a negative attitude toward drunkenness. It is impossible to say that these abundant potentials are being completely utilized. Due to the lack of a clear position in the interpretation of the problems of alcohol consumption and the campaign against drunkenness and the lack

of elaboration of a scientifically sound program of anti-alcohol education the anti-alcohol materials now being spread are, as a rule, of a limited, unconvincing and, at times, contradictory nature. In this connection, the serious flaws in the information of the population, which one has occasion to encounter in case of public surveys, are not accidental. Thus, many of the city inhabitants surveyed by us proved not to be free of prejudices and misconceptions with regard to the properties of alcohol. A significant portion of the respondents, regardless of a relatively high educational level, lack an elementary knowledge about the influence of alcohol on progeny, on the intellectual and physical development of children and adolescents and on the health of a person and his capacity for work.

Meanwhile, the experience of many foreign countries attests: properly organized propaganda contributes to the formation of a negative attitude toward drunkenness, which in turn has a favorable effect on the dynamics of alcohol consumption. In Bulgaria, for example, the ideas of sobriety are being actively promoted and the negative costs of alcohol abuse are being convincingly brought to the consciousness of the masses through various channels (the central and local press, a special newspaper, radio, television, lecture groups, the network of political education). The many years of efforts have yielded definite fruit: as compared with the preceding 5-year period the growth rate of alcohol consumption has decreased sharply, the participation of various state and public organizations in the campaign against drunkenness has been stepped up noticeably.

The establishment of the appropriate monitoring of the production of alcoholic beverages and the improvement of the conditions and means of the sale of wines and liquors are another measure which could have a moderating influence on the dynamics of alcohol consumption. In the opinion of a committee of experts of the World Health Organization, this serves "as an effective means, by which the government can influence the level of consumption of alcohol in the country and can decrease the urgency of the problems connected with it" [13].

The regulation of alcohol consumption along with a change of the structure of the latter by the significant decrease of the proportion of hard beverages and the enlargement of the assortment of quality wines and beer presumes the implementation of organizational measures, which are called upon to ensure the increase of the culture of wine consumption. Here it should be taken into account that some prohibitive and restrictive measures, which affect the bulk of the consumers, as a rule, do not come up to the expectations placed on them and frequently merely complicate the alcohol situation. For example, the decrease of the number of places of the sale and drinking of alcoholic beverages, as well as the abolition of small packages in many ways contributed to the emergence of "street" drunkenness. The overwhelming majority of the population, according to mass public surveys, views negatively the restrictions which are applied to alcohol consumption as a whole, since they do not regard it as something reprehensible. In our opinion, it is necessary to increase substantially the number of public dining enterprises which offer a wide choice of high quality alcoholic beverages, which will make it possible to tighten up social control and thereby to decrease the urgency of the problems to which "street" drunkenness gives rise.

Pricing is an effective means of influencing alcohol consumption. However, the increase of the prices for wines and liquors in itself does not solve the problem. A well thought-out and flexible system, which takes into account the forms of consumption of alcoholic beverages, is needed here. Thus, the establishment of additional markups on alcoholic beverages at restaurants and other public dining enterprises led to the decrease of their visiting and, consequently, promoted only the increase of the cases of unregulated drinking bouts.

At the same time the need for the prohibition of the consumption of alcoholic beverages by minors and pregnant women, for restrictions during the period of the construction of the most important national economic projects, harvest time and so on is unquestionable. The "drinking bouts" of school pupils and students of vocational and technical schools (and this is frequently done under the pretext of all kinds of "holiday parties") should be regarded as one of the most flagrant forms of the violation of the regulations of these educational institutions and should evoke a prompt reaction of both the administration and the Komsomol organizations and should become a subject of discussion at the place of work of the parents. The local restrictions on the sale of alcoholic beverages for the period of construction of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant completely justified themselves. The intensification of the monitoring of the consumption of alcohol by the workers, whose occupational activity is directly connected with the safety and health of people, also proved to be useful.

The elimination of drunkenness and alcoholism is an integral component of the social policy of the party, which is aimed at the improvement of the way of life and the increase of the well-being of the Soviet people. "We have great material and spiritual possibilities for the more and more complete development of the individual and will increase them henceforth," it was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress. "But it is important at the same time that every person would know how to use them wisely. And this, in the end, depends on what the interests, the needs of the individual are.... Drunkenness, which, frankly, speaking, still remains a serious problem, is doing considerable harm to society, to the family. The efforts of all labor collectives, all public organizations, all communists should be aimed at combatting these abnormal phenomena" [2].

The present stage of the building of socialism, the changeover of the economic mechanism to the intensive means of development and the new guidelines in the sphere of ideological and educational work are lending exceptional importance to the task of the organization of anti-alcohol activity on the scale of the entire country. The accomplishment of this task requires the acceleration of interdisciplinary developments at the meeting point of criminology, sociology, psychology and medicine and the strengthening of the interrelationship of science and the practice of social control and planning. It is necessary for the efforts of scientific, state and public organizations to be aimed first of all at the prevention of drunkenness as a social phenomenon, and not only at the combatting of the alcohol abuse of a separate section of the population. The main thing here is the combined implementation of scientifically sound socioeconomic, cultural and educational, legal and medical measures, which promote the gradual elimination from various spheres of the vital activity of people of the adverse conditions, which prompt alcohol consumption and stimulate the development of drunkenness and its negative consequences. Consequently, the

campaign against the abuse of alcoholic beverages, drunkenness and alcoholism should be included as a component in the plans of the social development of the entire country and its individual regions.

FOOTNOTES

1. The study was conducted in Dzerzhinsk of Gorkiy Oblast, Kirov, Novgorod and Moscow. Interview methods and a written questionnaire were used. In all 2,252 people were surveyed.
2. The results of other studies also indicate the dependence of the prevalence of the immoderate consumption of alcoholic beverages on the level of culture and the spiritual development of people [10].

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7807

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AGE FACTOR IN TURNOVER OF PERSONNEL

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
(signed to press 27 Oct 83) pp 106-108

[Article by Aleksandr Ivanovich Rybakov, chief of the Laboratory of Applied Sociology of Yelabuga Pedagogical Institute, and Aleksandr Ivanovich Sinyuk, chief of a scientific research sector of Yelabuga Pedagogical Institute:
"Age Differences in the Turnover of the Regular Labor Force"]

[Text] The individualized approach to personnel policy in many ways depends on the consideration of the age peculiarities of the workers. In particular, the same parameters, which characterize the production situation at the enterprise, have a different meaning for different age groups. It was found¹ that the negative perception of specific elements of the production situation, which arouses the desire to change jobs, is often governed by the qualitative peculiarities of one stage or another of the life cycle.

The empirical material, which is presented in Tables 1 and 2, makes it possible to arrive at the following age differences in the turnover of personnel. In the group of people 16-18 years old it is most often connected with the choice of occupation. Frequently the aspiration to change jobs stems from the sense of uncertainty as to one's powers and the lack of the necessary labor skills. Thus, 36.2 percent of the young workers of this age group are afraid of allowing defective output or of ruining the equipment, 26.4 percent do not fulfill the norms and take this circumstance very much to heart, 15.6 percent become very tired during the shift, 3.1 percent do not feel a benevolent attitude toward themselves.

The study confirmed the conclusion, which has become chrestomathic, that interest in work is dependent first of all on the level of education: the higher the educational level of young workers is, the more they are oriented toward creative, meaningful labor. Two-thirds of the respondents believe

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1. The study was conducted by the Laboratory of Applied Sociology of Yelabuga Pedagogical Institute in 1978-1981 at a number of industrial enterprises of the Nizhnnekamsk Territorial Production Combine. More than 10,000 workers were surveyed.

Both authors are publishing a work in our journal for the first time.

that the level of their education is higher than the job being performed requires. Among workers over 40 the picture is the opposite: two-thirds believe that their education is lower than production requires.

Table 1

Factors of Turnover of Regular Labor Force, Percent*

Reason for quitting	Age groups, years						
	16-18	19-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	Over 40
Occupation does not suit.	53.2	48.1	28.7	19.5	--	--	--
Low wage.	31.9	24.0	36.8	29.3	37.5	31.5	36.0
Uninteresting job	24.4	23.3	9.2	--	--	--	--
Lack of housing	7.3	9.2	27.8	6.8	--	--	--
Enrollment in educational institution	6.4	--	--	--	--	--	--
Lack of places in kindergartens (nurseries)	1.1	2.0	15.8	14.7	--	--	--
Poor relations with administration.	0.1	0.4	5.8	7.4	--	--	--
Move to another city.	--	25.8	--	--	--	--	--
Dissatisfaction with work in given shop	--	9.3	--	--	16.6	16.6	--
Overtime.	--	9.3	25.4	48.8	50.0	25.8	36.0
Poor organization of labor.	--	9.2	18.4	24.3	--	12.9	--
State of health	--	--	--	14.6	37.5	48.2	62.0
Potential turnover, percent	24.0	37.5	45.5	28.5	22.3	43.7	29.5
Real turnover, percent.	45.0	36.7	40.9	31.6	20.0	35.6	14.6

*The respondents could indicate several reasons for quitting.

Table 2

Dependence of Life Plans of Respondents on Age, Percent*

Life plans of respondents	Age groups, years							In total group of potential quitters
	16-18	19-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	Over 40	
Obtain interesting and favorite job.	30.6	27.3	27.1	17.1	14.8	16.4	6.6	20.5
Increase one's skills	8.9	10.8	12.6	13.2	11.1	9.8	6.4	10.6
Move to another city to live and work	25.6	20.8	16.8	5.8	3.7	5.1	7.2	12.6
Transfer to work at another enterprise in the same city	4.4	6.8	5.8	8.8	3.8	5.6	3.5	5.8
Get married	16.1	12.0	19.4	6.3	1.2	1.9	1.5	9.4
Improve housing conditions	12.8	18.5	42.9	44.9	55.6	41.6	38.0	35.7
Obtain secondary education	5.0	2.4	1.6	1.0	1.0	--	--	1.6
Enroll in tekhnikum	15.6	12.8	1.0	3.9	1.1	--	--	6.4
Enroll in higher educational institution.	10.5	10.0	2.6	2.9	--	--	--	3.9

*The respondents could mark several items.

The disposition to "spontaneous" actions appears quite distinctly in the behavior of young people 16-18 years old. The fact that the potential turnover here is nearly half as greater as the real turnover, attests to this. The most unexpected reasons (a chance conflict with the foreman or a work colleague, the advice of a comrade, trouble at the workplace and so on) can influence the decision of minors to change jobs.

In the turnover of personnel of the next age group (19-20 years old) such factors as a high level of claims on the content of labor and great mobility, which is connected with youthful romanticism and the striving for what is new and unknown (a fourth of the respondents of this group link their desire to change jobs with the reason "move to another city"), play a significant role. Independent life experience and the difficulties connected with it quite often force workers 19-20 years old to change their place of work, therefore the potential turnover here is quite high (37.5 percent) and is practically equal to the real turnover (36.7 percent).

The turnover of personnel in the next group (21-25 years old) is most often connected with factors of a "material" nature, since the appearance of a family creates the very urgent need for the corresponding wage. The reason "low wage" holds the first ranked place among the other reasons which create the desire to change jobs. The reason "lack of housing" begins to dominate for the first time precisely in this age group, and a dormitory for people with small families suits 63.3 percent of the respondents, 22.2 percent insist on a separate apartment. The question of providing children with places in children's preschool institutions also arises for the first time. The proportion of this reason is the most significant as compared with the other groups. Apparently, the discontent with overtime increases sharply precisely for this reason. The difficulties of a material nature lead to the highest potential turnover (45.5 percent), which later develops into a real turnover of approximately the same level (40.9 percent). The interest in work, particularly the content of labor, during this time decreases, just as the need for the increase of the educational level (as compared with the preceding groups it decreases by a factor of 5.5).

The group of people 26-30 years old for the most part is similar to the preceding group, with just the difference that the factors causing the turnover lose their urgency: the indicator of the potential turnover decreased from 45.5 percent to 28.5 percent, while the real turnover decreased from 40.9 percent to 31.6 percent. The interest in occupational activity, particularly the increase of skills and educational level, the improvement of the organization of labor and so on, is actualized again. Half of the members of this group are dissatisfied with "rush work," a fourth are dissatisfied with the organization of labor. The reason "occupation does not suit" at this stage of the age cycle changes substantially, moreover, the factors forming it differ from those which were characteristic of younger workers. The lack of opportunities for promotion (31.4 percent), dissatisfaction with the moral and psychological atmosphere (26.2 percent) and the public health conditions of labor (19.7 percent) appear in the forefront. In all 18.3 percent noted the inconvenient shift system, 16.6 percent--the great distance from the place of residence to the place of work. The reason "lack of housing" in this group holds the last ranked place among the other reasons of the turnover and is mainly connected with the need to have a separate apartment.

The basic factors, which form the turnover of personnel in the age group of 31-35 years old, are connected with the standards of production and its organization. Thus, the reason "dissatisfaction with overtime" comes here to 50 percent and remains the "leading" one in the older age groups. As a whole the study showed that after the age of 35 the "comfort" of their position: the sense of one's own importance, occupational achievements, the respect of comrades and the administration, interests workers more and more.

The knowledge of the age differences in the turnover of the regular labor force makes it possible to predict it quite correctly and helps to elaborate a more effective strategy and tactics of the use of manpower resources.

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7807

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KIRGHIZ RURAL WAY OF LIFE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
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[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Docent Kusein Isayevich Isayev, chief of the Chair of Scientific Communism of Frunze Polytechnical Institute: "On the Question of the Improvement of the Way of Life of the Rural Population of the Kirghiz SSSR"]

[Text] In the Kirghiz SSR, where two-thirds of the population lives in rural areas and more than half of the working class is employed in agricultural production, the way of life of rural workers in many ways is specific. Under present conditions the trends of its improvement are governed by the measures being implemented by the republic on the implementation of the Food Program. The formation of the Issyk-kul - Chu Territorial Production Complex has begun, which will increase significantly the power available per agricultural worker, will make it possible to enlarge the transportation systems and to meet more completely the material and cultural demands, the level of which in recent years has increased noticeably. The modernization of rural settlements is being carried out under the difficult conditions of high mountain terrain, the presence of glacial zones and mountain rivers.

The social and occupational composition of the rural population of the republic is changing. In the past 10 years the number of machine operators has increased by more than 1.5-fold, on 1 April 1982 about 10,000 skilled specialists (including nearly 3,000 with a higher education) worked at kolkhozes and just as many worked at sovkhoses [1, pp 126, 128]. The bulk of the workers of agricultural production are employed in its leading sector--animal husbandry. This determines both the specific nature of their occupational composition and the peculiarities of their way of life, particularly in the settlements which are located in remote, hard to reach regions.

K. I. Isayev is the author of the monographs "Sotsial'nyye problemy derevni (Kirgizskaya derevnya vchera, segodnya, zavtra)" [Social Problems of the Countryside (The Kirghiz Countryside Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow)] (1976), "Razvitiye sotsializma i vzaimootnosheniya goroda i derevni" [The Development of Socialism and the Interrelations of the City and the Countryside] (1981). He is publishing a work in our journal for the first time.

The Kirghiz countryside is being reinforced more and more with highly skilled workers of education and culture. Thus, during 1951-1981 the total number of teachers of rural schools increased by nearly twofold, while the proportion of those having a higher and secondary specialized education among them increased from 64.7 to 94.9 percent (including with a higher education--from 5.5 to 68.7 percent) [1, p 210].

Along with quantitative changes in the social composition of the rural population qualitative changes, which are characteristic as a whole of the process of the convergence of classes and social groups in our country, are also occurring. The conditions are being created for the formation of a new type of worker of agricultural production--in 1981 at the 128 interfarm enterprises, organizations and associations the average annual number of employed people came to 14,400, having increased during the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan by 7.6-fold (78.5 percent of them are employed in agriculture) [1, pp 118-119].

However, many problems for the present remain unsolved, while the changes in the social and occupational composition of the population are not being combined with the optimization of the placement of personnel and the use of manpower resources. The point is first of all that for the present low migratory mobility is characteristic of the rural inhabitants of Kirghizia: according to the data of the 1979 census, nearly all of them have lived since birth in the same population center. Rural young people prefer to remain after graduating from secondary school in their customary sociocultural and linguist environment. On the one hand, this has a positive influence on the attachment of personnel to agriculture and, thereby, on the further increase of agricultural production, but, on the other, complicates even within the boundaries of the republic the accomplishment of broader economic and social tasks. Therefore it is important to find the optimum degree of migration of young people, which makes it possible to combine the provision of agriculture with personnel with the reinforcement of the manpower resources of cities and new construction projects both within the republic and outside it. The more rapid development than now of the network of vocational and technical educational institutions, the increase of the quality of the general educational training of rural school children, especially in Russian, and the improvement of the vocational guidance of school graduates could promote this.

It is impossible also not to see that agriculture of the republic is also experiencing a certain shortage of skilled personnel. In a report at the Sixth Session of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet (Ninth Convocation) First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia T. U. Usubaliyev noted that in agriculture of the republic about 1,000 highly skilled engineer-machine operators and nearly the same number of livestock experts are needed. In a number of rayons up to half of the middle level managers in agriculture are experienced workers, the shortage of machine operators comes to 30 percent. The main reason for the inefficient use of equipment and the low standards of labor lies in this [2]. That is why the one-sided intensification of the outflow of rural young people to the sphere of industry and construction would be undesirable: it is a question namely of the optimization of the migratory flows.

Some contradictory trends are also characteristic of the sphere of daily life of the rural population of the republic. Statistics attest to the steady increase of the material well-being of the inhabitants of the countryside. During 1965-1981 the average monthly monetary wage of the workers and employees of agriculture of Kirghizia increased by nearly twofold--from 67.5 to 130.2 rubles [1, p 160]. The sale to inhabitants of the countryside of cultural and personal goods increased accordingly (on a per capita basis by more than threefold) [1, p 180]. This, of course, also had an influence on the overall structure of the expenditures of the families of rural workers. But it is alarming that in the countryside the sale of foodstuffs also increased significantly (by approximately twofold). Whereas previously the bulk of the foodstuffs (especially meat, vegetables, fruits) were obtained for consumption of rural inhabitants directly from the private plots, now they are being obtained through the system of state and cooperative trade. The implementation of the Food Program in the area, which concerns the stimulation of the increase of the output of private plots, should contribute to the elimination of this trend and the assurance of the sale in rural areas of only those foodstuffs which cannot be obtained here by means of self-supply.

The importance of the material and technical support of the culture of leisure is steadily increasing for all the generations of rural inhabitants of the republic. At times it is extremely inadequate as compared with the new living standards, the level of which the rural population is striving more and more to achieve. Thus, opportunities for the organization of concerts and parties and simply for contact exist at far from all the rural clubs. And the development of the network of clubs lags behind the increasing demands of the inhabitants of villages.

The service sphere is also being developed slowly: the rural population is twice as bad off in the supply with them as the urban population. It is understandable that it is difficult to organize personal services for the inhabitants of remote settlements, but this means that consumer services in the countryside under the conditions of Kirghizia need special attention.

At present as a result of the unmet and deferred demand among rural inhabitants of the republic large surpluses of monetary assets have formed: the amount of their deposits at savings banks increased during 1965-1981 by more than eightfold, and in the average amount of the deposit city and rural inhabitants nearly do not differ [1, p 183]. The meeting of the effective demand of the rural population, their supply first of all with high quality goods, which do not require frequent and lengthy repair, the organization of mobile consumer services--all these are vital problems of the improvement of the way of life of the rural population of the republic.

The successful solution of these problems requires, as the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum indicated, systematic scientific support, including sociological support. Unfortunately, in Kirghizia sociological research so far has been poorly developed, while the study of the problems of the way of life of the rural population is practically not being carried out. The shortage of skilled personnel and the lack of scientific subdivisions, which specialize in the problems of the countryside, are showing. Local sociologists to a certain extent are relying on the assistance of the Institute of

Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Ural State University and other scientific centers. However, this, of course, cannot make up for the lack of their own sociological service.

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7807

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PROBLEMS OF PREPARING CHILDREN FOR SCHOOL

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[Article by Natal'ya Petrovna Grishayeva, junior scientific associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Social Aspects of the Preparation of Children for School: The Experience of Making an Expert Examination"]

[Text] In the early 1970's the Scientific Research Institute of Preschool Education of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences conducted a study of the mental development and the readiness of 6-7 year old children for school. About 2,500 preschoolers, who were being educated at urban and rural kindergartens and in the urban and rural family, were surveyed. It was discovered "that the children, who are educated in urban kindergartens, are characterized by the highest indicators of development and the assimilation of knowledge, then come the children who attend rural kindergartens, after them are the urban children from the family and, finally, the rural children from the family" [1, p 38].

At present the school curricula are becoming complicated. The demands on the level of work of preschool institutions are increasing in connection with the increase of the educational and cultural level of the population and the increase of the information saturation of the process of education. However, these demands are in conflict with the existing state of affairs. Although the overwhelming majority of parents wish to enroll their child in a kindergarten, among first grade pupils only 50 percent are pupils of preschool institutions. In a number of republics a negligible portion of the 6 year old children attend the preparatory groups of kindergartens. At least "30 percent of the children, who come to the first grades, do not receive training either in the preparatory groups of kindergartens or in the preparatory classes of schools" [1, p 139]. And although by the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan there were about 129,000 state and kolkhoz kindergartens in our country, while 43 percent of the children in the city and 23 percent in the

N. P. Grishayeva deals with the problems of social forecasting. She has published in our journal the article "The Category 'The Quality of Life' as a Reflection of the Contradictions of Modern Bourgeois Society" (No 2, 1976, in joint authorship).

countryside attended them, the need for preschool institutions remains very high. An acute shortage of teaching personnel is being felt in a number of regions, especially in large cities. This is due to the low prestige of the occupation of kindergarten teacher, the large turnover and the inadequate skills of personnel.

The identification of the causes of the forming situation and the elaboration of the prospects of the solution of ripe problems were the tasks of the study which was conducted in 1982 by the Sector of Social Forecasting of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Since the detailed statistical information on the indicated problem is inadequate, the method of the survey of experts is optimal. The sample included parents, kindergarten teachers, chiefs of kindergartens, workers of public education, scientific associates of the Scientific Research Institute of Preschool Education of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and teachers of the elementary grades. The study showed that such a composition of the group entirely meets the main demand on the expert examination--the competence of the appraisals.

When preparing the expert examination and drawing up the initial list of social problems the following sources were used: 1) party and government decrees on the problems of preschool education, as well as the instructional documents of the USSR Ministry of Education [2]; 2) the publications in the journals DOSHKOL'NOYE VOSPITANIYE and SEM'YA I SHKOLA for 1979-1981. During the analysis of these materials 50 opinions with respect to the problems of preschool education, which upon subsequent grouping were reduced to 16, were obtained. They constituted the basis of the questionnaire of experts and were appraised according to a seven-point scale from the point of view of priority and urgency.

In all 70 questionnaires were handed out and received, of them 60, which contained specific additions, which, in our opinion, attested not only to attentive reading, but also to the real competence of the expert and his correct understanding of the goals of the survey, were processed and analyzed.

Generalizing the results of the expert examination (see the table), let us rank the distinguished problems by the degree of their importance.

1. The Complete Meeting of the Need of the Population for Preschool Institutions.

1.1. The creation of real opportunities for the complete coverage of 6 year old children by preparatory groups at kindergartens and preparatory classes at schools.

1.2. The decrease of the number of children in the group.

1.3. The organization of preschool institutions on a cost accounting basis in addition to the existing ones.

2. The Decrease of the Illness Rate of Children.

Breakdown of Opinions of Experts on Social Problems of Preparation of Children for School

	Experts						Overall average rating
	parents	kindergarten teachers	workers of public education	scientific associates	teachers of elementary grades		
Social problems of preparation of children for school							
1. Instruction of parents at evening pedagogical universities, in special courses and so on.	2.85	4.00	3.82	5.24	5.40	4.26	
2. Stepping up of work on strengthening of successive ties between school and kindergarten (joint pedagogical conferences, reciprocal visits of workers of kindergarten and school and so on)	5.21	5.61	5.70	5.14	6.00	5.53	
3. Improvement of quality of training of teaching personnel . . .	6.35	5.61	6.20	5.11	5.80	5.81	
4. Decrease of illness rate of children	6.42	5.38	5.42	5.86	5.20	5.65	
5. Enlargement of assortment of toys, textbooks, methods literature	5.21	5.00	5.12	5.20	--	5.13	
6. Complete meeting of need of population for preschool institutions.	5.14	5.00	5.12	5.00	4.60	4.97	
7. Systematic further training of kindergarten teachers	4.58	4.30	5.52	4.40	5.20	4.80	
8. Decrease of number of children in group.	5.21	5.69	5.88	3.25	6.00	5.00	
9. Stepping up of work of parents at kindergarten	3.81	3.92	3.42	4.68	--	3.95	
10. Creation of opportunities for complete coverage of 6 year old children by preparatory groups at kindergartens and preparatory classes at schools.	4.92	5.23	5.12	5.88	5.20	5.02	
11. Increase of number of specialized kindergartens	2.81	4.00	3.81	2.70	6.00	4.20	
12. Comprehensive elaboration of urgent problems of preparation of children for school by scientific institutions of country. . .	3.85	4.54	4.30	4.75	--	4.25	
13. Stepping up of study and promotion of advanced experience on problems of preparation of children for school	4.14	5.08	4.98	4.45	4.20	4.40	
14. Stepping up of work with preschoolers at place of residence; organization of excursion groups, circles and so on	4.50	3.46	3.86	3.22	--	3.80	
15. Organization of bureau for exchange of permits to kindergartens with allowance made for place of residence of child . . .	4.64	4.85	4.61	3.22	6.00	4.60	
16. Organization of preschool institutions on cost accounting basis in addition to existing ones.	4.14	1.92	3.86	2.25	--	3.00	

3. The Solution of the Personnel Problem.

- 3.1. The increase of the wage of workers of kindergartens.
- 3.2. The effectiveness of the material stimulation of the labor of kindergarten teachers.
- 3.3. The decrease of the turnover of personnel at preschool institutions.
- 3.4. The increase of the prestige of the occupation of kindergarten teacher.
- 3.5. The improvement of the quality of the training of personnel.
- 3.6. The systematic further training of kindergarten teachers.
- 3.7. The elaboration of criteria of the occupational selection of kindergarten teachers.

4. The Instruction of Parents at Parents' Evening Universities, in Special Courses and So On.

- 4.1. The stepping up of the work of parents at the kindergarten.

5. The Elaboration of Organizational Forms of the Strengthening of the Ties Between the School and the Kindergarten.

6. The Extensive Introduction of New Forms of Work With Children: Excursion Groups, Circles at the Place of Residence, Rooms for the Short-Term Stay of Children and So On.

7. The Comprehensive Elaboration by Scientific Institutions of the Urgent Problems of the Preparation of Children for School.

- 7.1. The elaboration of criteria of the optimum combination of the public and family education of a child in the process of his preparation for school.

The experts assigned the first places to the most significant and urgent, in their opinion, social problems, the solution of which requires the development of a wide range of urgent measures; they assigned the last places to problems which are also important, but had received, in their opinion, a more or less satisfactory solution, and therefore are not priority problems. As a matter of fact, current and long-range problems were distinguished during the expert examination. There should be grouped with the former, which require immediate solution, the problems of the increase of the wages of workers of kindergartens, as well as the prestige of the occupation of kindergarten teacher, the decrease of the turnover of personnel, the complete coverage of 6 year old children by preschool institutions, the organization of a bureau for the exchange of permits to kindergartens, the decrease of the illness rate of children and the improvement of the work on the strengthening of the successive ties between the kindergarten and the school. Among the long-range (up to 1990) problems there are: the complete meeting of the need of the population for preschool institutions, the organization of the universal and compulsory

pedagogical education of parents, the decrease of the number of children in the group, the acceleration of the construction of base kindergartens (with an enlarged selection of rooms) [3], the organization of new types and kinds of preschool institutions in addition to the existing ones (kindergartens on a cooperative basis, groups of a short-term stay at kindergartens, excursion groups at the place of residence; schools of the harmonious education of preschoolers, sports teams, interest circles, preschool divisions of children's libraries at the place of residence), the enlistment of male educators in work at the kindergarten.

The results of the survey confirmed the hypothesis of the possibility of using the expert method in the study of the given problem. Moreover, the criteria of the choice of the members of the expert group were established. The workers of public education and the USSR Ministry of Education, as should have been expected, proved to be the most competent.

The teachers of elementary grades are a very unique group of experts. Without knowing the specific nature of the work at the kindergarten and seeing only the results of the labor of kindergarten teachers, they cannot give a comprehensive appraisal of their labor. At the same time this group made a constructive suggestion--to introduce in the Charter of the Kindergarten a paragraph on the personal responsibility of every kindergarten teacher for the quality of the preparation of the child for school and to envisage material and moral stimulation for the successful fulfillment of this task.

As a whole the expert survey, which was used when studying the social problems of the preparation of a child for school, justified itself. Its further use when determining the forecasting standards, as well as when elaborating measures of social policy in the area of the qualitative development of the system of preschool institutions is advisable.

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MUSICAL TASTES OF YOUNG PEOPLE

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[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Gayk Byuzandovich Zulumyam, docent of the Chair of Marxism-Leninism of Moscow State Conservatory imeni P. I. Chaykovskiy; Vladimir Nikolayevich Solov'yev, member of the Soviet Sociological Association of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Docent Vyacheslav Ivanovich Shul'gin, acting chief of the Department of the Moral and Esthetic Education of Young People of the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee: "The Formation of the Musical Culture of Young People"]

[Text] The analysis of the pursuits of young people during free time shows that today such forms of them as watching television programs, listening to the radio and musical recordings and going to musical evenings and discotheques predominate. Music is having an increasing influence of leisure, value orientations, artistic tastes and interests, helps to develop one's own style of life, to assimilate better moral and esthetic values and to develop the aptitude for creative work. However, music is frequently regarded by young people as a prestigious amusement, as a means of becoming familiar with a special, fashionable style of life. Consumerism in this sphere, as foreign experience attests, can carry over to the area of moral deviations and legal offenses. One of the reasons is the shortcomings in the cultivation of the musical culture of young people.

The task of our study¹ is the study of the preferences and knowledge of young people in the area of musical culture; the basic channels of its formation and the place and role of Komsomol organizations in the increase of the efficiency of their functioning were also examined.

The most massive channel of the familiarization of young people with musical culture is television programs (89 percent of those surveyed), the listening to musical recordings (63 percent), the attendance of concerts (61 percent), the listening to musical radio broadcasts (60 percent), singing for oneself and with friends (41 percent), the frequenting of discotheques (35 percent), modern dances (24 percent), pursuits in amateur art groups (21 percent). As

All the authors are publishing a work in a journal for the first time.

we see, music holds an important place in the structure of the vital activity of young people. Here a portion of the young people in the future are oriented toward active types of musical pursuits (Table 1).

Table 1

Attitude of Young People Toward Various Types of Musical Pursuits, Percent

Surveyed categories of young people	Playing of musical instruments		Attendance of variety concerts		Attendance of thematic musical evenings	
	play	would like to learn to play	attend	would like to attend	attend	would like to attend
Workers. . . .	11	26	60	22	8	24
Pupils	41	57	76	55	22	23
Students of vocational and technical schools. . . .	14	44	59	51	11	21

The results of the survey testify that 50 percent of the boys and girls are satisfied with the television broadcasts of folk music, classical music--respectively 37 percent and 16 percent, variety music--respectively 47 percent and 18 percent (Tables 2, 3).

Table 2

Number of Those Satisfied With Television Musical Broadcasts, Percent

Surveyed categories of young people	Types of broadcasts		
	variety music	classical music	folk music
Workers.	34	33	34
Students of vocational and technical schools.	69	19	38
Pupils	38	37	40
Undergraduates	12	24	20

Table 3

Number of Those Satisfied With Radio Musical Broadcasts, Percent

Surveyed categories of young people	Types of broadcasts		
	variety music	classical music	folk music
Workers.	30	36	40
Students of vocational and technical schools.	57	19	32
Pupils	25	38	38
Undergraduates	14	36	42

In spite of the comparatively large number of television broadcasts of classical music, they enjoy negligible popularity. This is explained both by the

technical difficulties of the broadcasting of classical music and by the low level of the esthetic needs of a portion of the listeners. Experts indicate the conservatism, which the editors of musical programs display when preparing broadcasts for young people, and the inadequate differentiation of programs by ages and interests.

In all 77 percent of those surveyed are satisfied with the radio broadcasts of folk music, which are the main source of the meeting of the need of young people for folklore, 17 percent are dissatisfied, with radio broadcasts of classical music--respectively 67 percent and 24 percent, variety music--62 percent and 28 percent. The lower interest in variety musical programs is due first of all to the fact that on radio the interests of young people are not always taken into account, they deal poorly with their study and formation.

The musical preferences to a certain extent are characterized by the number and genre diversity of the records and tape recordings, which young people have. In all 53 percent of the respondents have records, 52 percent have tape recordings, and 34 percent of those surveyed have records with recordings of classical (symphonic, operatic, ballet, chamber, vocal, instrumental) music, 52 percent have records with recordings of folk music and 63 percent have records with recordings of variety music. In all 1.2 percent have tape recordings of classical music, 7.2 percent have tape recordings of folk music and 91.6 percent have tape recordings of variety music. Apparently, this is explained both by the shortcomings in the formation of the musical tastes of young people and by the lack in the trade network of tape recordings of folk and classical music.

The survey showed that the need for the individual listening to music (44 percent of the respondents said this), as well as in a group of friends (57 percent) is increasing. This is especially characteristic of pupils--respectively 55 percent and 65 percent and students of vocational and technical schools--52 percent and 79 percent.

In recent times the discotheque has acquired particular popularity among young people. Here 70 percent of the respondents prefer to listen to the music, 62 percent prefer to dance, 48 percent prefer to associate with friends, 28 percent prefer to familiarize themselves with new things and 22 percent prefer to watch the movies and slides. Stage and thematic programs arouse much less interest. As to the genres, young people prefer to listen to modern variety, music in the style of "disco" and "rock." Among the most popular foreign groups are ABBA, Bonnie M, Smokey, Arabesques and the Beatles.

At the same time the tendency for the interest of young people in discotheques to decrease has been noted (Table 4). Miscalculations in the repertoire (too little Soviet variety music), in the designing of the programs and the use of slides were named among the shortcomings in their work. In this connection let us note that the majority of disk jockeys at discotheques, unfortunately, do not have a specialized musical education.

Boys and girls know variety music especially well: 70 works of a light genre, 43 Soviet vocal and instrumental groups and 47 performers were named, among them are: the groups The Time Machine (32 percent of those surveyed named it),

Pesnyary (21 percent), Verasy (17 percent), Araks (17 percent), Zemlyane (7 percent); the performers A. Pugacheva (32 percent), Yu. Antonov (28 percent), S. Rotaru (14 percent), V. Leont'yev (6 percent), L. Leshchenko (6 percent); the songs of R. Pauls (12 percent), A. Morozov (4 percent), Yu. Antonov (2 percent).

Table 4

Attitude of Young People Toward Going to Discotheques, Percent

Surveyed categories of young people	Went previously	Go now	Would like to go in the future
Workers.	16	45	14
Students of vocational and technical schools.	42	52	48
Pupils	31	55	60
Undergraduates	18	54	12

An increased interest in melodic and meaningful music is observed among young people of older ages (25-34 years old). The works of Beethoven, Chaykovskiy, Bach and Mozart were named among the musical classics. The repertoire of fashionable groups, which are distinguished by sound and light effects, first of all interest pupils.

The respondents demonstrated a good knowledge of folk music, which in many ways is dictated by the traditions and cultural peculiarities of the region. In the Belgorod area they are carefully preserving and spreading musical folklore. The performers appear in bright national costumes and by the manner of singing and contact on the stage eloquently convey to today's audience the charm of this unaging art. Experts have indicated the increasing importance of folk music and the need for its extensive use for the esthetic education of the rising generation.

As to classical music, the knowledge of it deepens with the increase of the overall cultural level and is differentiated subject to the nature of labor activity (young people engaged in physical labor and the students of vocational and technical schools are least familiar with classical musical works).

A large portion of the respondents (58 percent) are familiar with literature on music, but whereas 58 percent read articles on concerts in nonspecialized periodicals (132 periodicals, including 21 newspapers and 111 journals, were named), 43 percent read literature on the life of musicians and 18 percent read literature on the theory of music.

In analyzing the dynamics of the musical needs of young people, it is necessary to note that they are being realized especially thoroughly among pupils. Rural young people would like to meet to a greater extent their needs for the proposed types of musical pursuits,² workers and undergraduates--to a smaller extent.

The study showed the aspiration of boys and girls for self-education in this area, their desire to become familiar with the classics. Young people want to

know more about collectives, performers and various trends in music. For the purpose of the more extensive familiarization of young people with musical culture it is necessary not only to study, but also to form musical requirements, to strengthen the material base of culture in workers' dormitories and the reading rooms of enterprises, to create the conditions for active musical pursuits by the organization of amateur art circles, the holding of competitions and so forth. A portion of the boys and girls are not satisfied with the activity of Komsomol organizations in this direction. Moreover, Komsomol workers rate the level of the organization of the musical education of young people higher than the surveyed boys and girls. For the enhancement of the role of Komsomol organizations in the formation and development of musical culture experts suggest: to draw up a program of musical education for all groups of young people; to introduce in the program of studies of the Komsomol aktiv lectures on questions of music; to enlarge the network of art schools, which carry out comprehensive esthetic education by the teaching of the fine arts, choreography, music; to promote the preservation and development of musical folklore.

FOOTNOTES

1. The study was conducted by the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee, the Scientific Research Institute of Culture of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture and Moscow State Conservatory in Belgorod Oblast in October 1982. The respondents are 560 young people 18-24 years old, including pupils, students of vocational and technical schools, undergraduates, workers, kolkhoz farmers, creative, engineering and technical personnel. Among the 110 surveyed experts there are managers of organizations and institutions of culture, representatives of creative collectives, educators, musicians and Komsomol workers.
2. In all 20 types of leisure pursuits were suggested: the watching of musical television broadcasts, the listening to the radio and musical recordings, going to theaters, discotheques, thematic and musical evenings and concerts, lessons in ballroom, folk and modern dancing, the writing of music, the playing of musical instruments, pursuits in amateur art circles, meetings with figures of the arts and so on.

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METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

SURVEY OF EXHIBITION VISITORS

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[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Georgiyevich Andreyenkov, chief of the Department of the Methodology of Sociological Research of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Ol'ga Mikhaylovna Maslova, senior scientific associate of the Department of Demography of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Nikolay Andreyevich Svyatitskiy, chief of a sector of the Department of the Scientific and Technical Promotion of Exhibitions of the Ekos TsOONTI [not further identified] of the Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry: "On the Study of Exhibition Activity"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[Text] Some domestic exhibition opens in our country practically every day and some international exhibition opens every third day. Their audience numbers in the tens of millions of people [1]. In this connection the study of the effectiveness of exhibition activity and the elaboration of criteria, which make it possible to judge the achievement of the complicated set of goals, for the sake of which this type of social contact operates, are becoming more and more urgent.

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Different aspects of efficiency: economic, information and propaganda, pedagogical, are important for some departments or others, which perform exhibition work [2]. However, the object base of any research directions remains a single one--the objective content of the communicative process which forms between the two basic participants in exhibition activity: the organizers of the exhibition and the audience. The nature of this process serves as the subject of study of the theory of the means of mass communications, and precisely the latter can perform the role of a special sociological theory for the study of exhibition activity [3]. At the same time an exhibition, like no other channel of mass communications, affords sociologists an opportunity to observe under natural field conditions the effectiveness of information influences on a quite significant number of people. The point is that the flow of visitors upon entering the exhibition, during the examination of the display and after it is recorded precisely and is accessible for observance and surveying. This makes it possible to measure and compare the state of opinions at all three stages of the communicative process: the precommunicative, communicative and postcommunicative stages. The differences in the value of the indicators, which were obtained at these stages, characterize both specific aspects and the overall evaluation of the effectiveness of the information influence on the audience. Thus, the study of exhibition activity can become a kind of testing ground for the verification of the most general procedural principles of the evaluation of the effectiveness of the means of mass communications.

On the basis of these general ideas, the authors of this article attempted to determine the information effectiveness of the Third International Exhibition "Systems and Means of Communications"--"Communications-81."¹ The checking under field conditions of the developed set of empirical indicators, which define operationally the concept of effectiveness, the procedural support of these indicators at the stage of the gathering of data, as well as the substantiation of the sampling procedures, which represent the population being studied, were the procedural goals of the study.

The concept "information effectiveness," which was defined as the acquisition by different groups of visitors of new knowledge (or the broadening of the previously existing knowledge) on the theme of the exhibition, was singled out as the key concept. Three basic directions of the operationalization of this concept were distinguished: a) the indicators which characterize the specific ideas of the organizers of the exhibition about the structure of the expected audience; b) the indicators which reflect the state of consciousness of the audience before the start and after the examination of the exhibition: information requirements, opinions, appraisals, knowledge with regard to the subject of the exhibition; c) the correlation of the indicators which characterize the goals and their realization for the organizers of the exhibition and for its audience.

Three groups of visitors were singled out in the structure of the expected audience. First of all the "main visitors" of the exhibition are specialists who have vocational training in the area of means of communications. The following response to the question "Of what interest is the theme of the exhibition for you?": "The theme of the exhibition is connected with work," was the indicator of affiliation with this group. The second group is mass visitors

who do not have vocational training. Two versions of the response to the same filter question: "The theme of the exhibition is not connected with work. I would like to get a general idea about the sector" or "I dropped in to take a rest, to spend time in an interesting way," were the indicators of affiliation with this group. And finally, those people, for whom the problems of means of communication are of amateur interest or are a sphere related with their occupational knowledge, were assigned to the third group of visitors.

The distinction of the three groups in conformity with the a priori notions of the organizers of the exhibition made it possible to compare the expected structure of the audience (according to the data of the survey of experts) with the real structure (according to the data of the sociological survey). It is necessary to note that the preliminary notions of the organizers about the structure of the expected audience were not confirmed. Upon comparison of the expected and actual indicators it turned out that there were 31 percent more specialists than the experts anticipated, consequently, the actual address of the exhibition information turned out to be narrower than planned. Hence it follows that the content emphases of the information impact were biased in favor of a specialized audience.

Since any indicators of effectiveness in case of the study of communicative processes involve the description of the audience and its structure, the assurance of the representativeness of the samples of those surveyed becomes extremely important. The main difficulty here consists in the inadequate completeness or the lack of a priori statistical information, by relying on which the researcher could control the correspondence of the sampled and general populations.

In our study the preliminary data on the audience reduced to two indicators, which were based on the experience of past exhibitions: the total number of visitors--about 40,000, and the daily attendance--from 8,000 to 16,000. The simplified procedure of the random selection of respondents, which was implemented by the interviewers who worked at the entrance and two exits from the exhibition, was used. The first interviewer invited the tenth visitor in number to be surveyed, the second interviewer invited the next tenth visitor and so on. From three to seven interviewers worked in each survey group depending on the density of the flow of visitors.

Such a survey procedure is simple organizationally, it does not require special expenditures on technical equipment for the mechanical count and selection of respondents. However, one has to pay for simplicity and inexpensiveness: the subjective peculiarities of the interviewers (accuracy, conscientiousness, sociability), as well as situational factors begin to influence the quality of the information. For example, in case of a change of the density of the flow of visitors the uniformity and accuracy of selection are disrupted. And there is another thing: the frequency, with which respondents are selected from the flow of visitors, depends on the length of the interviews. The refusals of people to be interviewed and the fatigue of the interviewers themselves should also be grouped with the shortcomings.

In this connection additional procedures of the control of the stability of several parameters of the sampled population were envisaged. One of them is

the comparison of the sociodemographic composition of the audience, which was obtained in two independent samples which were formed according to a uniform procedure at the entrance and at the exit. As it turned out, this structure is characterized by great stability. With respect to all the basic parameters (sex, age, education) the differences did not exceed 5 percent.

The ratio of the "special" and "general" tickets, which were received by the checkers at the entrance to the exhibition, was ascertained for the control of the sample in accordance with the attribute "specialist--general visitor." These tickets differed in color and were distributed respectively at the place of work among specialists and through the ticket office for the mass audience. Even with allowance made for the fact that specialists could also purchase tickets at the ticket office, the distribution with respect to the controlled attribute proved to be unstable. In case of the study of specialized exhibitions the importance of this characteristic is very great. The fact is irrefutable. That is why it should be admitted: the technique of selection, which was used in our study, needs revision.

The communicative process, which constitutes the content of the work of the exhibition, was represented in the study by three blocks of necessary empirical data, which governed the elaboration of the methods tools and the procedures of their use. The first block of data--THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNICATOR--was supported by the following four tools: the recording of the special invitation cards for specialists and the ordinary tickets sold at the ticket office; the survey of the expert organizers of the exhibition on the structure of the expected audience; the daily standardized report of the staff members on the number of consultations, discussions and demonstrations of the exhibits for the different groups of visitors; a final questionnaire, which was filled out by each staff member of the exhibition on the day of its closing and contained opinions, impressions and suggestions.

The second block of data--ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE AUDIENCE--was supported by six methods tools for the survey of visitors. First of all, there is the "Registration Form of Sociodemographic Data," which was filled out by each visitor who was included in the sample at the entrance or at the exit from the exhibition. The establishment of preliminary contact with the respondent and the identification of his affiliation with one of the three possible groups by means of the mentioned filter question "Of what interest is the theme of the exhibition for you?" were the function of this tool. Depending on the answer to the question the respondent received "The Questionnaire of the Specialist" or "The Questionnaire of the Visitor," each of which was drawn up in two versions: for the survey at the entrance and at the exit. The survey was conducted by the method of the written questionnaire and the standardized interview.

"Self-interviewers"--special devices for the automated recording of the opinions of visitors, which were installed at the entrance and at the exits from the exhibition, as well as at the exit from the Soviet pavilion--were used along with the traditional survey.

The third block of data--THE PROCEDURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY--included informal discussions with the interviewers with respect to their observations

and impressions about the psychological and organizational aspects of the situation of the survey; daily standardized reports on the work of interviewers; the recording of the number and the reasons for the refusals of visitors to be surveyed; a procedural experiment on the comparison of the data on the expenditures of time on the visiting of the display, which were obtained as a result of the self-appraisal of the respondent and by the method of the hidden observation of his actual stay at the exhibition [4]; the hidden and open observance of the psychological and organizational aspects of the survey situation by means of the self-interviewer (the mass survey board).

Let us dwell in more detail on several procedural questions which are connected with the use of the automated recording of opinions.

The board contained only one question of tabular form, which was duplicated in all four versions of the questionnaire for the obtaining of comparative data (see the questionnaire). A button, by the pressing of which the answer chosen by the respondent was recorded, corresponded to each code position. Moreover, the pressing of the button was accompanied by an audible signal, which signified that the response had been recognized by the automatic machine. The number of presses was recorded by special counters individually for each position. The main merit of the automatic machine is its technical and organizational simplicity and degree of economy. Whereas the 19 sociologists on the 13 days of operation of the exhibition interviewed 1,807 people, the 3 automatic machines in the same time "surveyed" about 24,000.

Questionnaire of the Self-Interviewer

"If you compared the level of development of means of communications in the USSR and abroad, how would you assess the place of the USSR in the different areas?"

Types of communications	Assessments				
	Considerably exceeds the average world level	Exceeds the average world level	Conforms to the average world level	Is inferior to the average world level	Is considerably inferior to the average world level
Satellite.	5	4	3	2	1
Telephony and telegraphy	5	4	3	2	1
Household radio electronics.	5	4	3	2	1

At the same time it turned out that the mass survey board has a number of serious procedural limitations. First of all there is the random nature of the formation of the population of those surveyed. The use of an automatic machine brings the interview closer to the situations of a newspaper questionnaire, the mail survey and correspondence readers' and viewers' conferences:

the initiative of contact passes to the respondent, the question of the representativeness of the obtained data remains open.

The distribution of the opinions, which were obtained by the methods of automated recording and the personal interview, in the general trends coincided, the ratios of the positive and negative opinions in case of the appraisal of the level of development of means of communications as a whole did not change in case of any method of surveying. However, if you do not reduce the five-membered scale, which was contained in the question, to a dichotomy ("exceeds--is inferior"), the self-interviewer receives more critical opinions: the proportion of the most positive appraisals ("considerably exceeds") decreases, while the proportion of the most negative appraisals ("is considerably inferior") increases, the proportion of average appraisals remains stable.

Are these differences connected with the appearance of the effect of the interviewer, in the conversation with whom the respondents "tone down" the critical opinions? The results of a single study do not make it possible to answer this question unequivocally.

The observations of the psychological context of the automated survey revealed a number of procedural peculiarities, which it is possible to regard as "the effect of the automatic interviewer." If no one is at the board, the majority of visitors pass by. As soon as one person or a group stops, curious people or those who wish to take part in the survey gradually gather around the automatic machine. They respond very actively, comment on the opinions and argue. It is easy to presume that the surrounding people influence the formation of the responses.

"Test" responses, which were connected with the mastering of the technique of voting, were recorded. A variety of emotional responses, when the respondents for the expression of the highest degree of dissatisfaction or, on the contrary, approval press several times the button corresponding to the chosen version of the response, was identified.

The replacement of hidden observation with open observation changes the state of affairs significantly: the proportion of "situational noise" in the incoming information decreases sharply, since the observer performs the role of a consultant who explains the goals of the survey and the rules of use of the board. It was established that the presence of an observer does not have a noticeable influence on the number of obtained responses, that is, the activeness of the turning of visitors to the self-interviewer does not decrease. However, the influence of the consultant on the content of the responses still has to be studied in greater detail.

The simplest version of the automated survey board was used in our study. The most diverse means, which are more perfect technically, for example, video terminals which are connected with a computer and so forth, can be used for similar purposes. The efficiency of the gathering and the quality of the analysis of the information can be improved significantly. The basic socio-psychological peculiarities of the interaction of the respondent with such automatic machines also requires further study. The creation of conditions for the individual contact of the respondent with the self-interviewer seems

very important to us. Perhaps, these will be individual booths patterned after telephone booths or other design decisions. Moreover, in the situation of "respondent--survey board" contact it is necessary to single out, if it can be expressed this way, the preparatory-teaching stage, at which the respondent would be introduced to the psychological and technical peculiarities of this version of the survey. The participation in it of an observer-consultant seems unpromising to us as a result of the influence of the latter on the content of the responses. The formulation of correction factors, which are based on the data of hidden observation, which establish the proportion in the entire set of opinions of random and senseless responses, is more acceptable.

In our opinion, the immediate prospect of the use of automated survey procedures involves the use along with them of the traditional methods of surveying and interviewing, the systematic gathering and analysis of comparative data.

The suitability of empirical indicators for the fixing of the information effectiveness of an exhibition was evaluated when analyzing the meaningful results of the study. Let us turn to a few examples. It turned out that the examination of displays activates in the consciousness of respondents the reserve of knowledge and impressions about other similar exhibitions. Whereas before the start of the examination 25 percent of the visitors recalled their names, upon leaving the number of those who responded increased to 64 percent, and not only the number of responses, but also the number of named exhibitions increased. Consequently, while giving new information, the exhibition at the same time actualizes in the consciousness of the audience the information background for its perception and evaluation.

One of the most important indicators of information effectiveness is the change of the opinions of the audience at the entrance and exit from the exhibition. This indicator made it possible to record not only the existence of an information effect, but also its positive orientation in favor of the USSR (table). It would seem that the higher level of initial knowledge of specialists makes it possible to presume a more stable structure of their opinions. However, as is evident from the table, the exhibition also made adjustments in the structure of the appraisals of this part of the audience.

Increase of the Number of Positive Appraisals After Examination of
the Display, Percent of the Number of Those Surveyed

Sections of exhibition	Contingents of those surveyed	
	specialists	mass visitors
Satellite communications.	9	10
Terminal radio equipment, channels and network of communications	13	28
Household electronic equipment.	3	17

The amount of information, which is taken in while becoming familiar with the display, also acts as a preliminary condition of the formation of an appraisal. According to our data, the proportion of the positive appraisals of the level of development of communications in the USSR by the specialists, who visited the Soviet pavilion, is 12 percent greater than among those who had

not been to it. With reference to the mass visitors this indicator is even higher (it comes to 15 percent).

The cited examples pertain to those indisputable situations, when the indicator being checked is suitable for the registration of information effectiveness. In those instances when the indicators do not record the expected changes, three versions of explanations are possible: there is no information effect; mistakes were made in case of the logical substantiation of the validity of the indicator or in its instrumental embodiment, that is, when constructing the survey. In addition to the meaningful results the data of methodic observations and experiments were enlisted for the evaluation of such questionable indicators. The combination of the logical and procedural content analysis made it possible to identify the indicators which are not suitable for verifying the hypotheses of the study.

FOOTNOTE

1. The exhibition was held by the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the All-Union Ekspotsentr Association on 3-16 September 1981 in Moscow at the exhibition complex of Sokolniki Park. The displays of enterprises and organizations of 24 countries, as well as West Berlin were presented at the exhibition.

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FUNCTIONAL TYPES OF INDICATORS IN SOCIAL MANAGEMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
(signed to press 27 Oct 83) pp 140-147

[Article by Doctor of Sciences Michal Illner, senior scientific associate of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences: "Functional Types of Indicators in Social Management"]

[Text] The planning and programming of the social development of labor collectives have been carried out in Czechoslovakia since 1976 on the basis of uniform procedural rules, of which systems of social indicators are a component [1]. One of them, which is oriented toward the period from 1981 to 1985 and is presented in the Procedural Instructions on the Compilation of the Program of Personnel, Personal and Social Development During the 7th Five-Year Plan [2], is based on the indicators, which had already been used in previous years in the so-called comprehensive programs of concern about the working people and experimental plans of the social development of collectives of enterprises [3]. It should be noted that the indicators of the social development of the territorial units of the CSSR for the present have not yet been standardized. Various systems of these indicators are contained in the drafts of individual plans and programs of the social or socioeconomic development of the cities and regions of the CSSR or have been published in scientific articles.

Social Indicators and Management. Until recently a certain nonuniformity in the elaboration of the questions of the methodology of social indicators was observed in Czechoslovakia, frequently the functions of the latter in case of the expression of the goals, means and effectiveness of social management and planning proper were outside the purview of researchers. Much more attention was devoted to the general theoretical and methodological problems of the operationalization of the basic categories of social development and to the use of social indicators in information systems, particularly social statistics.

M. Illner is the author of a number of monographs on the problems of the planning of social development. The book "Socialni ukazatele" (1980), which was written in joint authorship with M. Foret, was reviewed in our journal (No 3, 1982). The article was received by the editorial office in manuscript in Russian.

Such a situation, which has gradually been overcome in recent years, in many ways was due to the lack of experience in the planning of social development, the overestimation of the analytical stage of planning, as well as the traditional approach to the nature of social indicators, in conformity with which they were linked first of all with sociological studies, although it is obvious that it is necessary to elaborate the questions of the methodology of social indicators and their use in management on the basis of the needs of the process of management as a whole.

Before analyzing the types of indicators, let us specify the limits of the concept "social management." In our opinion, this is a complex process, which it is possible to model analytically as the sequence of stages which lead from the identification of some social need to its satisfaction. The mentioned process includes the stages of diagnosis, programming, implementation, checking and evaluation. The individual stages have feedbacks, and the sequence of steps when solving a specific social problem can be repeated several times. Therefore we are basing ourselves on the concept of the cycle of management, in which each step makes specific demands on social information, its nature, form and volume. The social indicators are used at all the stages of the cycle of management (table).

Types and Functions of Social Indicators in Management

Stage of cycle of management	Indicators		Context of use
	types	functions	
Diagnosis	Descriptive	Registration, description of initial state	Information system
	Analytical	Analysis of initial state	Preliminary social analysis
	Program	Expression of long-term goals	
Programming and implementation	Forecasting	Expression of trends of proposed development	Forecast, program, plan
	Plan	Expression of intermediate-term and short-term goals (means)	
	Standards	Basis for quantification of goals and means	
	Control	Description of final state	Information system
Checking and evaluation	Of ultimate impact	Expression of results	Final analysis, check analysis
	Of effectiveness	Expression of effectiveness	Analysis of effectiveness

Let us examine in greater detail the different types of social indicators, which were distinguished subject to the functions performed by them at the individual stages of the process of management.

Descriptive and Analytical Indicators. At the diagnostic stage of management the social indicators reflect the initial state of the object being managed and, consequently, the social problems following from this, that is, they perform primarily a registration and a descriptive function. The descriptive indicators, which are based, as a rule, on the structural diagrams of the elements of social reality, which are being studied, together with the control indicators, which will be discussed below, usually constitute the nucleus of the information systems of social management.

At this stage the social indicators are used not only for the description and registration of the state of the objects being managed, but also for a more detailed analysis. In such a case we are speaking about analytical indicators. They are used primarily within the framework of intensive, thematically oriented diagnostic studies, which are aimed at the explanation of specific, already defined problems or at the further extension of information.

The boundary line between analytical and descriptive indicators (both types are united by us by the common term "diagnostic") frequently depends only on the chosen aspect, for example, on the distinctive level of diagnosis. It is possible, as a rule, to speak about the first type, when the structure of the object being studied, the dynamics and causes of its development and the external relations are meant, or when the object is being compared with other phenomena. Diagnostic indicators make it possible to evaluate the initial state of the object being managed from the point of view of social goals, to make decisions on the planned influencing of it and thus to shift to the programming of changes.

The use of the examined types of indicators in the practice of social planning of the CSSR has become traditional. The comprehensive programs of concern about the working people and the plans of the social development of collectives of enterprises for 1976-1980 played an important role here. At the same time during the implementation of the above-mentioned programs and plans a number of conceptual shortcomings were found: for some indicators the attributes of the definition were ambiguous, a significant portion of the indicators were not backed by information, the link with administrating accounting and statistical reporting was not developed, the systems of indicators were oriented primarily toward industrial enterprises, without properly taking into account the conditions of other sectors, particularly the nonproduction sphere. All these shortcomings were eliminated in the systems of indicators for the period from 1981 to 1985.

Program Indicators. At the stage of programming the social indicators are the last link in the chain of the gradual specification, disaggregation and operationalization of the goals of social management and most often serve as a means, which makes it possible to give concrete expression to the tasks of social development and to present them in a form which lends itself to registration and, as a rule, is quantitative. The social indicators, which perform this role, can be called program indicators.

The distinctive trait of program (as well as plan) indicators consists in the fact that they stimulate and direct the behavior of social subjects--individuals, social groups, organizations and so on. Therefore, when elaborating these indicators (which should be defined as variables, which are oriented toward the change of the objective trends), it is necessary to properly foresee their motivational effect and to take into account not only the logical, but also the psychological aspects.

In practice the setting of the goals of social development and the elaboration of program indicators are closely interconnected. On the one hand, the detailed formulation of the goals can coincide with the definition of the indicators and, on the other, can also include elements of programming, which go beyond purely informational questions. Consequently, the goals and indicators of social development correspond with each other as the content and the form.

However, in our opinion, one must not identify the setting of the goals of social development and the formation of the indicators, by means of which these goals are expressed operationally. The fundamental meaningful question of the making of decisions differs substantially from the instrumental and, consequently, secondary question of the transformation of the goals into variables which lend themselves to registration. The elaboration of the goals must not be replaced by the elaboration of indicators. Moreover, the timely clarification of the tasks of social development should precede the elaboration of the program indicators.

In most instances it is impossible to express adequately the goals of the latter, which are usually of a complex nature and presume qualitative changes, only through the system of indicators. Differences, for the explanation of which one should resort to other means, for example, commentaries, instructions and so on, exist between these levels. Thus, social development is planned primarily by means of indicators, but it is not always identical to the achievement of the established values of the latter.

The forecasts of social development are the basis for the statement of the goals of social planning. The qualitative verbal characterization of the proposed development and its characterization by means of forecasting indicators, which depend on the lead time and the method of forecasting, as a rule, are combined in them.

Forecasting indicators according to their functions in the cycle of management are between diagnostic and program indicators. If the forecast is passive, they are closer to the former, if it is active (that is, contains standard elements), they are closer to the latter.

Plan Indicators. In addition to the long-range and global goals of social development the indicators at the stages of programming and implementation can also reflect the more immediate and specific goals or the means which are necessary for the accomplishment of the posed tasks. These are the indicators of the activity of various units of the social infrastructure and social services, their capacities, the number of personnel, the amount of resources being allocated and so on. Such prerequisites, which are necessary for the achievement

of the ultimate goals of social development, become the nucleus of the plan, while the indicators, which are used for their expression, are called plan indicators.

The difference between plan and program indicators consists in the fact that whereas the former reflect the tasks, which lend themselves directly to planning and act with respect to the program social goals usually as instrumental tasks, the latter are oriented toward the long-term, comprehensive, characteristic goals. The identification of the plan and the program of social development, of plan and program indicators frequently occurs in practice. The replacement of the former by the latter leads to separation from specific social problems, to isolation from the system of management. Sociologists, who are superficially acquainted with the methods and possibilities of management, most often make such mistakes. In case of the opposite substitution (which experienced planners are inclined to do) the social content is impoverished, the extensive interrelations of planning become indistinct.

The question of the definition of the indicators in question is quite complex and depends on the specific situation, the stage of development and the level of management. What initially lends itself only to programming, under changed conditions can also be a subject of planning.

An abundance of plan indicators leads to bureaucracy and disorientation and decreases the significance of the plan. Whereas in the system of information all the plan characteristics should be taken into account, the opposite relationship is not valid--one should plan only a limited portion of the indicators which are included in the information system.

In the comprehensive programs of concern about the working people it was proposed to use 67 indicators (36 mandatory ones and 31 additional ones), while in the experimental plans of the social development of collectives of enterprises for 1976-1980 it was proposed to use 45. They were constructed in order to perform at the same time not only the functions of programming and planning, but also a checking, evaluation and reporting function, that is, to give the central organs analytical and statistical information. In practice such a multipurpose understanding of the system of indicators did not justify itself. Planning was actually replaced by analysis, the significance of the plans and programs was thereby decreased.

These errors were taken into account in the procedural instructions on the drafting of the program of the personal and social development of labor collectives for 1981-1985. Here an attempt was made to delimit the plan and program indicators more consistently from the indicators of the information system. In all 10 indicators in the area of personal development and 26 in the area of social development were envisaged by the method. The former measure the number of workplaces subject to education and skills requirements, the latter characterize the amount of work and assets, the expenditures on personnel, personal and social development, the number of workers engaged in difficult labor and the possibilities of the infrastructure of the enterprise. The indicators, which reflect the prospects of the improvement of plant public dining and the improvement of sanitation measures, are also included here.

Standards in the Planning of Social Development. So-called social standards, which are the desired ratios, which are expressed in quantitative form, between the target area of social management and the other characteristics of the object being managed or its environment or the ratios between the structural elements of social development, can be used when giving concrete expression to the goals. The standards are the basis for the determination of the values of the plan and program indicators and serve as criteria of the evaluation of the initial state of the object being managed and the setting of the goals of development.

When elaborating social standards it is necessary first of all to specify those indicators, for which such a procedure in general makes sense. Among them are the indicators, the values of which it is necessary to optimize (that is, not to set too low and not to set too high). Therefore it is possible, for example, to elaborate standards of social security (provision), but it is entirely absurd to speak about standards of labor or social activeness, crime and satisfaction with labor.

After the corresponding indicators have been selected, one should establish the criteria, on the basis of which their value is optimized, that is, one should ascertain, what determinants or structural relations belong here. The criteria should be connected with the indicators being registered of the causal or functional relations and be significant and decisive from the point of view of the dynamics of the given area of social development. The larger the number of significant criteria and relations which are taken into account, the more comprehensive and, consequently, the more perfect the standard is.

The third step in elaborating the standards is the quantitative expression of the relationship between the optimized indicator and the optimality criteria. Both empirical and nonempirical procedures can be used here. As a rule, the empirically established actual state serves as the basis for the determination of the conventional standard (the time and space series of the corresponding variables are analyzed). The minimum standards in such a case reflect the level lower than the average, while the leading standards reflect the level higher than the average.

In Czechoslovakia the social standards, which were elaborated by the method of regression analysis, were used successfully in the evaluation and planning of social services at enterprises of the metallurgical industry. It is assumed that in the next few years standards of the social development of enterprises will also be elaborated in other sectors of the national economy. The gained experience attests: an individualized approach and the consideration of the specific peculiarities of the labor collectives and sectors are necessary in this matter.

The standards of the social development of enterprises were developed at three levels. The standards, which specify the total amount of assets for social needs subject to the number of workers, the material resources and the results of the activity of the enterprise, were constructed at the first level. These so-called global standards help to outline the strategy of social development within the framework of general management and planning. At the second stage the relations between the individual elements in the structure of social

development were expressed by means of the standards. The special standards make it possible to establish the structure of the assets which are intended for the social development of enterprises from the point of view of the proportion of some types of social activity or others. At the third level the standards determine the relations between the technical and economic characteristics and the social characteristics of each type of activity, for example, the amount of invested fixed capital and labor expenditures. In this case we are talking about analytical standards.

Since the standards reflect the relations of individual areas of social development, their structure and dynamics, they are indicators of the highest level, which are constructed as the parameters of the elementary models of social reality. By giving a systematic quantitative base for the determination of the goals of development, the standards help to place a rational basis under social planning and contribute to its comprehensiveness. At the same time it should be noted that, when determining the goals of social development, one must not proceed just from standards. They reflect only the quantitative determination of the target indicators and owing to their extrapolative nature cannot take into account future qualitative changes.

Control Indicators, Indicators of the Impact and Effectiveness. The implementation of the adopted steps and the achievement of the planned goals are verified at the checking and evaluation stage of the cycle of management. Social indicators can be used for the accomplishment of both tasks, but an especially important role is assigned to them in case of the tallying of the results, that is, the evaluation of what changes have occurred in living conditions, the social structure, the behavior and consciousness of people. One of the main intentions of social indicators, which should become a tool which makes it possible to represent empirically the results of social management, consists in this. It is necessary to overcome the practice, which has predominated so far, when the results are judged according to the consumed resources and assets or according to the steps which have been taken for their realization.

In order to make an analysis of what has been achieved, it is necessary first to describe the final state of the object being managed after the taking of managerial steps. This task is accomplished in much the same way as the one which arose at the diagnostic stage of management, in case of the preliminary analysis. Here indicators of the descriptive and analytical type are also used, but in this case they perform a control function.

The knowledge of the final state of the object being managed makes it possible to begin the establishment of the impacts of social management, that is, the determination of the difference between the initial and final state, which is due to the effect of managerial measures. Thus, the nucleus of the establishment of the impacts is the comparison of the indicators, which characterize the initial and final state of the object of management, and the analysis of the causes of the detected changes.

The measurement of the impacts is the basis of the empirical determination of the effectiveness of social management and planning. The indicator of the degree of effectiveness of one measure or another gives an idea of by how much the likelihood of the achievement of the outlined goals increased as a result

of the implementation of this measure. Such effectiveness, which is determined by means of the comparison of the final state with the posed tasks, as well as the checking of the causal relationships between the taken steps and the achieved change, serves as the most important characteristic of the effectiveness of social management and planning. Let us call it the external effectiveness.

But the concept of external effectiveness does not reflect the relationship between the "input" and "output" of the managerial measure itself, that is, its expenditure intensity. Plans having the same external effectiveness can also lead to similar results in case of different expenditures, that is, can differ in their internal effectiveness. Consequently, the indicators of internal effectiveness characterize the expenditures which are necessary for the achievement of a specific impact of social planning and management. The concept "expenditures" in this context should be interpreted very broadly and not be reduced only to the spent financial assets.

The Need for the Functional Differentiation of the Systems of Indicators and the Framework of Their Use in the Planning of Social Development. The typological breakdown of social indicators according to their functions in the cycle of management, just as the very breakdown of this cycle into different stages, must not be absolutized. The cited types of indicators in practice often merge with each other. But the typology makes it possible to determine better the properties, which at individual phases of management should have specific indicators, or the means of their most effective use.

It is necessary to construct the systems of indicators with allowance made for the role which they will perform. The creation of functionally nonstabilized, "universally valid" systems of indicators, even if among the interesting intellectual exercises, is among the intellectual exercises which as a whole are not binding in any way. The experience, which has been gained in Czechoslovakia in the use of indicators for the analysis and planning of the social development of enterprises, regions and cities, convincingly proves: the aspiration to build in social planning functionally universal or functionally hybrid systems of social indicators, which perform simultaneously a diagnostic, program and control function, leads in practice to the emergence of unresolvable difficulties. The distinction of: a) the indicators of the information system of the management of social development (diagnostic and control) and b) the indicators which are intended for planning and programming proper, should be the basis of the differentiation. Every system of indicators of social development should have its own place in the system of planning and management, should be assigned to a specific level of it and be adapted to the specific possibilities of implementation, primarily within the framework of information support. Consequently, the functional differentiation of indicators, which stems from their role in the cycle of management, should be supplemented by "vertical" differentiation, which takes into account the information needs of the different levels of management, and "horizontal" differentiation, which reflects the specific sectorial and subsectorial nature.

Along with this requirement it is also necessary to observe the interrelationship of social indicators within the framework of both the entire cycle and the entire system of management, the entire national economy. It is impossible

to create any particular specialized system of indicators without consideration of the indicators which are used at other stages of the management of social development, at other levels of management and in other social areas. The group of basic indicators should remain common and should ensure the necessary content and information relationship between the individual stages, levels and branches of management. Common indicators make it possible to shift from the diagnosis to the determination of the goals, to compare the results of the preliminary and check analysis, to make an evaluation of the effectiveness of management and to coordinate the sectorial and territorial planning of social development.

The requirement of the simultaneous differentiation and interrelationship of the systems of indicators is met best of all by their aggregate ordering. Except for the mandatory common nucleus, the remaining groups of indicators are used selectively, depending on the specific tasks, the specific conditions and situations.

The indicators of the management of social development should also be coordinated with the existing information systems and indicators of other planning systems: with accounting and statistical reporting, with accounting analysis, with the indicators of economic planning. These relationships should reflect the place and role of the planning of social development in the overall system of management.

Indicators, unquestionably, are among the main information tools of the management and planning of social development, forming the basis of the information systems of social management and the plans and programs proper. However, it is necessary to evaluate realistically the role of social indicators in the analysis and planning of social development. They are only one of the means, which are capable of expressing at the empirical level the state of affairs and the goals of social planning, and are used--both in the information systems and in planning and programming--along with other means. As to planning, the indicators characterize (as a rule, in numerical form) the state of a limited number of key parameters of the social object being managed. Therefore, in addition to the indicators the social goals are determined by other means, which reflect more accurately the qualitative aspects of development and qualify in greater detail these goals, their interrelationships and the forms of realization. Global goals, procedural instructions, plan assignments and organizational measures are like that. The named means are used together as a single whole with allowance made for the necessary interrelationships.

The focusing of interest only on indicators frequently involves the disregard of other possibilities, and thereby the impoverishment of the procedural arsenal of social planning. All this inevitably leads to the mistaken idea that the formation of systems of indicators is the alpha and omega of the theory and practice of social planning and ensures the solution of practically all its basic problems.

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CRITICISM OF CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY

NEOCONSERVATISM AS REFLECTION OF GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

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(signed to press 27 Oct 83) pp 158-164

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Sergey Ivanovich Popov, prorektor of the Moscow Higher Party School: "Bourgeois 'Neoconservatism' as an Ideological and Political Phenomenon"]

[Text] "In all educational and propaganda work the peculiarity of the historical period, which mankind is going through, should be constantly taken into account. But it is marked by the confrontation of the two polarly opposed world outlooks, the two political courses--socialism and capitalism--which is unprecedented for the entire postwar period in its intensity and acuteness. A struggle for the minds and hearts of billions of people on the planet is under way. And the future of mankind depends to a considerable degree on the outcome of this ideological struggle."

From the materials of the June (1983)
CPSU Central Committee Plenum

One of the important tasks of contemporary Marxist-Leninist sociology is "to expose consistently and persistently the enemies of peace and progress" [2, p 74], to reveal the class essence of the sociological and sociophilosophical theories, on which the reactionary circles of the modern bourgeois rely. At present the conception of so-called neoconservatism is the most active force in the ideological arsenal of these circles.

S. I. Popov is the author of the monographs "Ideynoye bankrotstvo sovremennogo reformizma. Kritika filosofskikh i sotsiologicheskikh kontseptsiy zapadnoger-manskikh pravyykh sotsialistov" [The Ideological Bankruptcy of Modern Reformism. A Critique of the Philosophical and Sociological Conceptions of West German Rightwing Socialists] (1963), "Kritika sovremennoy burzhuaiznoy sotsiologii" [A Critique of Modern Bourgeois Sociology] (1970), "Sotsializm i gumanizm" [Socialism and Humanism] (1974), "Problema 'kachestva zhizni' v sovremennoy ideologicheskoy bor'be" [The Problem of the "Quality of Life" in the Present Ideological Struggle] (1977), "Sotsializm i optimizm" [Socialism and Optimism] (1981). He published in our journal the article "The Problem of the Origin and Functioning of the Concept of Values in Sociology" (No 3, 1979).

In the history of bourgeois philosophy and sociology it is possible to identify specific stages, which are due to both the internal state of the system of capitalism and the nature of the resolution of the contradictions which are external for it. There also exists a general scheme of the comprehension of social development from the class standpoint of the monopolistic bourgeoisie, which does not rule out, of course, the diversity of approaches and the existence of other solutions of intraformational, intersystem and global problems, which at times seem to be alternative solutions.

After World War II state monopoly capitalism began to use extensively the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution for the increase of production efficiency and the intensification of the exploitation of the working class. Economic growth, which gave bourgeois ideologists some grounds for futurological euphoria and the lauding of capitalism, was observed from the middle of the 1950's to the 1970's in the developed countries of the West. However, the stabilization of capitalism did not set in, while its general crisis continued to intensify.

At that time a general scheme, which became the basis of a significant number of economic, sociological and political science theories, dominated in bourgeois ideology. Suffice it to name "the stages of economic growth," "the unified industrial society," "the convergence of the two systems," "deideologization" and so forth. The theories of "the managerial revolution," "social partnership," cooperation in management and a number of others are close to them. The methodology of so-called technological determinism, more precisely scientific technological determinism, united all these conceptions, since science and technology, which were viewed in separation from the system of production relations, were called the heart of the most significant social changes of our times. The class attitudes of bourgeois social scientists determined the anti-Marxist, anticommunist nature of this approach, which is based on the following assumptions [3, 4].

One. Capitalism under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution underwent such profound structural changes that a fundamentally new society emerged. It received the name of industrial society. "Is it possible to think about the modification, the transformation of capitalism and its development into a more efficient system? Or, on the contrary, will one have to agree with the idea of irresolvable internal contradictions which are inherent in it? What I have seen during my life inclines me to the former supposition," well-known American economist J. Galbraith wrote. "This is a diverse process, which presumes social security, a government policy of employment in the spirit of Keynes, a progressive revenue policy, a powerful role of trade unions and the transformation of the large company, which craves for the accumulation of capital, into an element of the technostructure" [5]. History is developing not according to Marx, Galbraith claimed, since "a new ruling coalition of capitalists and workers" has emerged in the West [ibid.]. The idea that "the market economy," having passed "the era of capitalism," has gone beyond its historical framework and is functioning more successfully than the planned socialist economy, is traced quite clearly here.

The position of P. Samuelson is also in complete accord with these views: "the results of the growth during the third quarter of the 20th century showed

that the market economy, which has been enriched by government planning and macroeconomic control, can function better than during the previous eras of both capitalist and communist development" [6]. Thus, it turned out that ostensibly there is no longer a bourgeois system; even the very term "capitalism," having become offensive, nearly disappeared during this period from the political and ideological lexicon of the bourgeois.

Two. "Industrial society" is developing quickly, literally in front of one's eyes, into postindustrial (superindustrial, technotronic and so forth) society, which should bring unprecedented material prosperity and the freeing of man from practically any type of labor. The efforts of futurology during the 1960's were aimed at the development of numerous anticommunist models of the future on the basis of the methodology of "technological determinism."

Three. Real socialism is ostensibly not genuine socialism, but some surrogate ("totalitarianism," "etatism" a version of state capitalism with "a new hierarchy of class domination" and so forth), although it also has great economic, scientific, technical and military achievements. Military conflict with it, although possible, is undesirable, since it is capable of bringing about the destruction of both sides (the well-known conception of mutually guaranteed destruction, which a number of U.S. presidents prior to Reagan adhered to). Consequently, capitalism is "condemned" to detente, to peaceful coexistence with the "Soviets."

Bourgeois politicians and ideologists attempted to use detente itself as a means of the "moderation," the "loosening up" of socialism. It was assumed that under the influence of scientific and technical progress, the increase of the material well-being and the cultural level of the population, and also as a result of the ideological, political and economic influence of the bourgeois world the "communist bloc" would begin to undergo erosion and evolve in the direction of convergence with the "free world." The conceptions of "the unified industrial society," "the convergence of the two systems" and "de-ideologization" were nothing other than the hopes of the bourgeoisie for the capitalist rebirth of real socialism, which were expressed in a pseudotheoretical form.

From these obviously speculative assumptions, which were not burdened with any proofs, the "conclusion" was drawn: since capitalism no longer exists, while socialism has not yet been built, and in general can hardly be built, the question of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism and communism is pointless.

A new stage of the development of bourgeois ideology, which stemmed from the economic crisis which was unprecedented since the "Great Depression" of the 1930's, began approximately in the middle of the 1970's. A abrupt turn occurred from the optimistic forecasts, which appeared in large number in the 1960's, to gloomy prophecies about the ostensibly inevitable death of civilization as a result of the spontaneous development of production, technology and science. The making of a fetish of science and the mania for technology were replaced by their criticism, antisocialism and technophobia. The failure of the optimistic conceptions, which promised the crisis-free development of capitalism under the conditions of the continuing scientific and technical

revolution, and the spreading everywhere in the West of pessimistic, decay theories merely confirm the diagnosis, which Marxist-Leninist theory gave long ago to capitalism--a society which has no future, a social organism which is experiencing the aggravation of all its old illnesses, which have been exacerbated by so-called structural crises.

Many bourgeois ideologists now link the transition to "postindustrial society" with the substantial decrease of the standard of living of broad strata of the population. Some identify "postindustrial society" with so-called post-abundance. It is assumed that this period will bring an increasing shortage of means of existence [7].

The conception of ecological pessimism, which is a peculiar reflection of the ecological crisis which encompasses the industrially developed capitalist countries, was formed in the late 1960's and early 1970's. During this period bourgeois scholars began to create global models of the development of human society, on the basis of which the conclusions about the need for the halt or at least the limitation of economic growth and scientific and technical progress for the purpose of the preservation of the natural environment and non-renewable raw material resources were formulated.

Bourgeois pessimist conceptions have undergone a certain evolution in recent decades. The suggestions about the transition to "zero growth" and about the need to slow down scientific and technical progress had been refuted by the early 1980's. "Exact" dates of a world ecological and demographic catastrophe are being set more and more rarely. But social pessimism, as before, dominates in bourgeois consciousness--on both the ideological and the sociopsychological levels.¹

Pessimistic thoughts cannot, however, fill the vacuum which was formed after the collapse of scientific technological optimism. Therefore the ideological leadership at present is shifting to so-called neoconservatism. This is a sociological, political and economic theory, as well as a way of thinking and, what is the main thing, the political practice of the most reactionary circles of the monopolistic bourgeoisie, which are connected with military production, is extremely dangerous for the cause of peace and progress. At the turn between the 1970's and 1980's the ideas of neoconservatism were adopted by the governments of the United States, Great Britain and a number of other bourgeois states.

Neoconservatism is an attempt to idealize not so much the future as the past of capitalism, to reverse the course of history and to halt social progress, even at the cost of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

The philosophy of neoconservatism is extremely colorless. Some supporters of it, for example, J. Kristol, who laments that capitalism does not have enough inspirational ideas [8], also admit this. Kristol calls for a return to the former, "healthy state" of capitalism, for which one should "turn back the hands of the clock." Neoconservatives are in a way akin to the reversionists, or "returners," but in contrast to them dream not about the bucolic times of small-scale craft industry, but about the era of capitalist enterprise, which was not limited by anything, and "freedom of the market."

The lauding of "the good old times" with their "order," "moral health" and "strong family principles" is being combined with the exploitation of the set of "liberal values" which are intended primarily for export.

Neoconservatives are proposing "their own means" of solving the fundamental problems of world social development. First of all they are striving by every means to rehabilitate capitalism. D. Bell, who went over to the camp of the neoconservatives, obviously having forgotten that previously he spoke about the disappearance of capitalism, is now discussing how to reduce the contradictions of capitalist society; he finds the latter primarily in the sphere of culture. Bell is bothered by the fact that "the main cultural fact of the history of the 20th century is the categorical rejection of the bases of the capitalist system by the 'intellectual elite.' If only one representative of it, who would defend the nonheroic, rational interests of the bourgeois world (to say nothing of acquisition, enterprise or the making of money), will hardly be found" [9]. Therefore the neoconservatives are resorting to the most primitive apologetics of capitalism, combining it with the criticism of "intellectuals" who have dared to seek any flaws in capitalism.

American Sovietologist M. Novak, a professor of Syracuse University, develops an entire conception of "democratic capitalism." Like Bell, he laments that capitalism almost does not have open defenders, although this "system is most fruitful in practice" [10, pp 13-14]. There is not a single book, Novak writes, which would contain "our moral, political and economic ideals" [10, p 15]. Empiricism and pragmatism, although they are "unfading merits of democratic capitalism," hinder, in the opinion of Novak, the development of a complete theory which substantiates the advantages of the capitalist system: "We have neither our own 'manifesto' nor strong faith in the lofty destiny of liberal civilization" [10, p 14].

Many bourgeois political scientists have been seized by the yearning for an "inspirational theory" of a procapitalist bent. Some of them openly admit that capitalism does not have goals and ideals which could mobilize the masses. This system is tailored to group and individual egotism and displays complete helplessness in face of everything that goes beyond the group of material interests.

Despite such obvious facts as racial, national and class discrimination, unemployment and the poverty of a significant portion of the population, the neo-conservatives claim that capitalism embodies and realizes not only the socio-political ideas of freedom, equality and fraternity, but also the loftiest principles of morality. The work of P. Johnson, "Is There a Moral Basis for Capitalism? Dissenting Thoughts in a Collectivist Age," is devoted to the "proof" of this. The author understands the difficulty of the posed task: "It is necessary to have strong nerves to dare to suggest that capitalism has some moral basis, to say nothing of the attempts to prove that this system gives man the conditions for the best moral self-realization" [11, p 15]. However, Johnson still claims that capitalist society corresponds to the loftiest principles of morals, while bourgeois society gives the greatest room for the display of freedom of will and moral choice. The latter are reduced by Johnson to "the freedom to work where you want to and the freedom to vote for whom you want to." The choice of one of the two proposed candidates, who

express the interests of monopoly capital, is worth little. But "the freedom to work where you want to" seems entirely insulting under the conditions of the systematic increase of unemployment.

There will be no end to the reign of capitalism--such are the alpha and omega of the philosophy of neoconservatism. Such flagrant apologetic items have not appeared for a long time on the ideological market. What, for example, is to be done with the indisputable fact of the existence of monopolies, corporations and in general state monopoly forms of management? For namely they, and not "a large number of free minds" and "free economic possessions" dominate in contemporary bourgeois society. Johnson, without batting an eye, states that the trend toward monopolisticness is by no means all-embracing, but is "very elective, is balanced by a constant orientation toward democratic liberalism" and that the right of free individual ownership, as before, constitutes the heart of the capitalist system [11, p 22]. Here the author is obviously ascribing to modern capitalism the qualities, which were inherent in its pre-monopolistic stage and which it lost long ago.

The "monetary," or Chicago School headed by M. Friedman made a significant contribution to the "economic basis" of neoconservatism. From the point of view of this school, excessive interference of the government in the economy gives rise to all the difficulties of the latter, and therefore one should not interfere with the self-regulating mechanisms of the "free market"--that natural basis of free enterprise. The economic functions of the state should be confined to the regulation of the amount of money in circulation and the control of inflation.

The "theory of supply," which is close to the views of the monetarists, also expounds the rejection of state interference for the purpose of stimulating effective demand and supports the granting to businessmen of considerable assets, which they put to use in order to create new workplaces. This ostensibly will decrease unemployment and will ensure an increase of the effective demand and an overall upswing of the economy. It is possible to find additional assets by the decrease of taxes on businessmen and the reduction of government outlays on social programs. And government interference is permitted only in the area of military production. All this is actually freedom--but only for the "economic elite," to some extent development--but at the expense of the working people, by the improvement of the mechanism of their exploitation.

As American economic G. Gilder tries to assure, capitalism is capable of endless progress, a creative basis, which, however, is unpredictable and does not lend itself to control, is inherent in it. In the book "Wealth and Poverty" Gilder asserts that the illusions of the liberal humanistic intelligentsia, which wants "wealth without wealthy people," life without risk and such a government, which would cope with any unforeseen situations, predominate in the ideological atmosphere of the West. However, the attempt to plan the economy, in order to avoid all dangers and surprises, in his opinion, distorts not only the spirit of capitalism, but also the very nature of man [12, p 253]. On the contrary, belief in the unforeseen future, in chance and luck gives a dynamic impetus to capitalism, which the societies, in which the economy is subordinate to centralized planning and control, do not

know. The spirit of genuine capitalism, that is, capitalism which has not been "spoiled" by interference of the state, in the words of the author, meets the fundamental conditions of human existence in the universe, which is unfathomable, but controlled by providence.

At first the conservative government of Great Britain, then the U.S. administration zealously set to work on the implementation of the indicated economic formulas. The taxes on monopolies were reduced, and they increased their profits significantly. Many social programs were cut back, which led to the decrease of the standard of living of millions of people and the decrease of the effective demand and as a result contributed to the intensification of the crisis. However, the businessmen are not in a hurry to invest the obtained additional assets in the expansion of production. The only prospering sector of industry is the defense sector. The unprecedented increase of expenditures on arms led to a colossal budget deficit and an increase of the national debt of the United States, which by early 1983 exceeded \$1 trillion. Reagan, who promised to reduce, and then to eliminate completely the financial deficit, increased the tax burden on the population by nearly \$100 billion. Such are the results of "Reaganomics," which is based on the utopian theories of the neoconservatives.

Against this background the change of the attitude toward J. Keynes--the most prominent bourgeois economist, who advanced the idea of the regulatory role of the bourgeois state in the sphere of economics--is not accidental. For nearly half a century the formulas of Keynes were used for the purposes of the stabilization of bourgeois society, but now his teachings are being subjected to criticism and doubt, which reflects the failure of the attempts to eliminate or if only to smooth over the immanent antagonisms of capitalism, by using the means of state regulation. However, it is not Keynes who is to blame for the fact that capitalism cannot be developed according to plan. Therefore the aspiration to reject state monopoly capitalism, having replaced it with the chaos of the "free market," is merely the de facto acknowledgment of this fact. None of these alternatives promises capitalism deliverance from the prospect about which V. I. Lenin wrote, indicating that state monopoly capitalism leads bourgeois society right to a socialist revolution and that there are no and can be no intermediate steps between it and the next stage of the historical ladder, socialism [1].

The attitude toward real socialism and the world revolutionary and national liberation movement is a most important sociophilosophical conception of neoconservatism. Basing themselves on the general premises of anticommunism, the neoconservatives are introducing the spirit of the most dangerous adventurism into this question. Real socialism, and especially the Soviet socialist system, is not simply being slandered--the neoconservatives are proclaiming its "chance occurrence" and "historical doom."

The class illusions of the bourgeoisie, like its class hypocrisy, are socially determined. There also exists a pseudoscientific substantiation of the adventuristic policy of the neoconservatives, many of whom (J. Kristol, M. Novak) are members of the Committee on the Present Danger--the brain center of the rightwing Republicans.

Back in late 1979 Kristol proclaimed the beginning of the era of the collapse of the system of international relations, which had formed after World War II, and direct confrontation with the Soviet Union. Under these conditions "American military power and the willingness to use it boldly will be of particular importance" [13].

The cult of coercion and the militarization of thinking and psychology are characteristic traits of contemporary bourgeois social consciousness, which find their complete expression in the theory and practice of neoconservatism. However, again in spite of all the facts, its theorists ascribe these traits not to bourgeois, but to socialist society. The Soviet Union, in their opinion, bears responsibility for all the revolutionary, anti-imperialist actions, for all the "disturbances" on the planet. The policy of peaceful coexistence is depicted by them in the form of a crafty communist trap, into which, God forbid, the "western democracies" may fall. R. Pipes, a Sovietologist of hawkish persuasion, who belongs to the clan of neoconservatives, states: "A predilection for coercion, pressure from a position of strength and the main tool of this--militarism--is... the main thing in Soviet communism, while the derivation of a profit is the main thing in societies oriented toward the market. This springs from Russian history, communist ideology and Soviet ideas about the nature of future warfare" [14].

It is pointless to argue with Pipes with regard to his understand of Russian history--he has a very preconceived point of view about it. However, in itself the attempt to view communism as a natural continuation of this history, which obviously contradicts the thesis of its "chance nature" for our country, is symptomatic. How can one not recall here the English proverb that a liar needs a good memory.

The "ideological warfare," which is unprecedented in scale and was launched by imperialism against real socialism, and the flow of slanderous fabrications about the "aggressive intentions of Moscow" cannot conceal the basic fact which well-known anticommunist W. Schlamm was forced to admit: "Communism wants peace, it flourishes and triumphs under the conditions of peace. The West, if it wants to survive, should be firmly resolved to fight. It is not enough only to be ready for war" [15]. Schlamm's book "Die Grenzen des Wunders," which was published in the late 1950's and in which he stated that no one dares to face the truth--peaceful coexistence is disadvantageous and even dangerous for the West, while the communists want peace--had great repercussions. "The only strategy of the West, which makes sense, should consist in the determination to keep communism under the threat of war, no other means of influencing it exists" [16].

The future, which the neoconservatives and all those, who are guided by their ideas, are preparing for mankind, is truly frightful. Not by chance are their predictions encountering increasing mass resistance, including in the United States itself. J. Schnell in the book "The Fate of the Earth," which is being called the bible of present-day American supporters of disarmament, writes that the combination of conservatism and militarism in our times is extremely dangerous for all mankind. If some country entertains the illusion that war is possible even with the use of nuclear weapons and that "victory" can be achieved by means of them, it risks bringing a catastrophe on itself and on

the entire world [17]. Therefore the attempts to reverse development at any cost are encountering, as Yu. V. Andropov noted, "the vigorous opposition of peoples, which, undoubtedly, will increase" [2, p 24].

Mankind is faced with the task of solving global problems, the first and most important of which is the preservation of peace. Enough has been said about how the neoconservatives treat this question. However, they are also ignoring other serious problems, particularly the ecological problem, categorically opposing the suggestions coming from the Club of Rome and in general all measures which are aimed at the preservation of nonrenewable resources and the protection of the natural environment. Thus, the already mentioned Gilder attacks the speakers of the Club of Rome and other supporters of the "limits of growth." Gilder's arguments are simply ridiculous. The state, which undertakes to regulate the "limits of growth," by its metaphysical essence is "entropic and antilife," he claims. Having begun with encroachment upon economic activity, it will not fail to control the private life of citizens [12, p 253].

Figures like Gilder in general are opposed to interference of the state in the economy and ecology. Here they are displaying an "optimism" which is much more dangerous than any pessimism: after us if only there is a flood. The main thing is to derive profits, while expenditures on environmental protection decrease them--that is the whole "philosophy" of the neoconservatives. Not by chance has the Reagan Administration in practice cut the programs on environmental protection.

As we see, the social philosophy of the neoconservatives is extremely primitive. Not by chance are its followers striving to give an intellectual gloss to their views, which are distant from science and logic, and are feverishly seeking ideological predecessors, attempting to present their views as a continuation of the recognized philosophical tradition which goes back almost to Aristotle. The leaders of the neoconservatives are also using the conceptions of Russian reactionary figures of the past--Katkov, Leont'yev, Pobedonostsev and the Vekhovtsy. Particular attention is devoted to Dostoyevskiy, whom they declare the forerunner of neoconservatism. However, the attempts to include the brilliant writer in the department of neoconservatism are obviously unsound: Dostoyevskiy, who exposed with enormous artistic force the amorality and lack of spirituality of the bourgeois system, cannot be an ally in the matter of defending the extreme forms into which bourgeois antihumanism has developed.

Neoconservatism has vividly revealed some general trends of the development of bourgeois ideology of recent times, the main one of which consists in the further intensification of the crisis of bourgeois consciousness as the spiritual expression of the general crisis of capitalism. The base of social maneuvering is narrowing, and the bourgeoisie is being forced to shift to crude "power methods" on both the domestic and the foreign fronts, in both politics and ideology. All this is evidence of the fact that the methods, by means of which capitalism has been able to maintain relative stability during the postwar period, are losing their effectiveness, that "imperialism has become entangled in domestic and interstate antagonisms, upheavals and conflicts" [2, p 24].

FOOTNOTE

1. The bourgeois press abounds in materials of an alarmist nature. Let us cite the article of (F. Gisber) and (J. Mornan) "Collapse on the Western Horizon" (NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, 21 January 1983). The specialists believe that an economic catastrophe will inevitably occur, if in the immediate future the growth of production in the West does not achieve 5-6 percent a year.

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CSO: 1806/24

RESULTS, PLANS, INTENTIONS

MOMDZHYAN ON CONTRIBUTION OF SOVIET SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
(signed to press 27 Oct 83) pp 168-169

[Interview with Professor Kh. N. Momdzhyan, chairman of the Board of the Soviet Sociological Association, by a SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA correspondent: "The Soviet Sociological Association Is 25 Years Old"]

[Text] It is 25 years since the founding of the Soviet Sociological Association of the USSR Academy of Sciences. On the eve of the anniversary a SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA correspondent met with Professor N. Kh. Momdzyhan, chairman of the board of the association, and asked him to respond to the questions of the editorial board.

[Question] A quarter of a century is a considerable period. Tell us, how the association originated and what the basic results of its activity are.

[Answer] The association was founded for the study of varied social phenomena and processes by specific methods of applied sociology. Of course, years were required in order to organize such an important matter. But it was necessary to start some time: to unite the small detachment of Soviet sociologists, to organize the training of personnel and the publication of sociological literature, to make obvious to all the need for sociological studies in the solution of large-scale social problems.

Forces, which the association did not have, were needed for the implementation of this program. The matter was also complicated by the fact that during those years there were many people who believed that historical materialism makes sociology unnecessary, and interpreted the latter as "a bourgeois fashion," "questionnaire superficiality" and so forth. The young association and its active members had to exert considerable efforts in order to dispel such misconceptions and to explain the potentials of sociology in scientific knowledge and the improvement of the sphere of social relations. It should also be considered that during the first 10 years of work it was especially difficult for the association. At that time the Institute of Sociological Research, the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA and the training of specialists at higher educational institutions of the country did not yet exist. And nevertheless the association enlarged its ranks, published useful works, trained personnel and conducted interesting research, although on limited themes.

Immediately after its founding the Soviet Sociological Association joined in the work of the International Sociological Association: Soviet scholars, since 1966, have taken part in all the international sociological congresses. Together with their colleagues from the socialist countries they have been actively defending the ideological and theoretical positions of Marxist-Leninist sociology and have been promoting its achievements.

[Question] The association united a detachment of many thousands of scholars and specialists. In what do you see the practical contribution of the Soviet Sociological Association to the accomplishment of the most important national economic tasks?

[Answer] Indeed, in a quarter of a century the association has become a branched organization which unites 7,863 individual members and 976 collective members. Its subdivisions exist in nearly all the Soviet republics, in many rayons, krays and oblasts of our country. It is significant that the entire staff of the association and all the staff scientific secretaries of the republic and regional organizations are paid from the Soviet Sociological Association's own assets.

The main attention is being devoted to scientific research activity. In the association there are 35 central and 150 regional scientific research sections, which are working with party and state organizations on urgent social problems. Among them, in particular, are the increase of labor productivity, the development of the social structure of Soviet society, the formation of public opinion and questions of the family and daily life.

Annually about 400 sociological studies and 100 scientific conferences, seminars and meetings are conducted along the lines of the association. The results of several studies--Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukrainian, Moldavian, Siberian, Urals--were taken into account when elaborating important statewide decisions. Many central and republic newspapers have introduced in their papers the permanent headings "Sociologists Helped." In June of this year PRAVDA gave a positive rating to the work of Azerbaijan and Georgian sociologists, in particular, on the study of public opinion.

However, as a whole we are not satisfied with the achieved results and are directing the attention of the active members of the Soviet Sociological Association to the fact that our studies would be used not from time to time, but systematically by party and state organs when making decisions on social planning and management.

[Question] Not hypocritical, but just criticism meant for Soviet social scientists and sociologists was expressed at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. What steps are being taken by the association for the purpose of correcting the shortcomings which were noted at the plenum?

[Answer] The criticism of several social science institutes, including the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, unquestionably, also concerns the Soviet Sociological Association. What conclusions should be drawn from it? First of all the further organizational strengthening of the association, the more purposeful planning of its activity and the

more precise performance of the outlined work are necessary. We are trying to avoid the study of minor themes, having concentrated efforts on the most important, promising directions of sociological research.

We are also faced with another important task: to strengthen our position in the International Sociological Association, to step up our efforts in international scientific research committees, to publish the best works of Soviet sociologists more often in foreign languages, to prepare carefully for the next international sociological congress.

In conclusion I would like to express the hope that the question of the training of professional sociologists will finally be settled. We are awaiting this from the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education.

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FROM THE EDITORIAL MAIL

TRAINING OF SOCIOLOGISTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
(signed to press 27 Oct 83) pp 170-171

[Article: "Where Do They Train Sociologists?"]

[Text] Letters of readers, in which they ask us, at what educational institutions do they train professional sociologists, arrive very often at the editorial office of the journal. In particular, this question is contained in the letters of A. Yu. Artamonova of Shakhta, A. G. Koryagin of Murmansk and M. M. Shokhor of Karaganda. The editorial board asked sociology scholars of Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk and Sverdlovsk to answer the question. But before giving them the floor, we would like to direct attention to the announcement on admission to graduate studies of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which was published in our journal (No 2, 1983, p 239).

Thus, there respond to the readers: Doctor of Philosophical Sciences S. F. Frolov, chief of a department of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences E. N. Fetisov, a senior scientific associate.

With each year the ranks of sociologists are growing. The specialty "applied sociology," in which several doctors and tens of candidates of sciences have defended dissertations, was introduced several years ago. But, as paradoxical as this may be, so far a well-balanced, scientifically sound system of the training of sociological personnel, first of all highly skilled personnel, which is connected with the needs of modern life, is lacking in the country. Even the specialization of students up to now has been going on at only a few higher educational institutions of Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk, Ufa, Kiev and Tbilisi. In our opinion, the shortcomings, which are characteristic, unfortunately, of many studies: methodological and procedural miscalculations in the elaboration and implementation of problem research programs, the separation of the latter from the accomplishment of the tasks of the social development of Soviet society, the study of minor themes, the low level of analysis of the results, the inability to elaborate effective suggestions and recommendations, are also explained by the weakness of the training of specialists. Moreover, it is necessary, in our opinion, not only to train sociologists at higher educational institutions, but, what is much more important, to organize the education of specialists who already work at enterprises and

organizations. Unfortunately, it must be stated that of the many schools of plant sociologists, which operated at one time under the auspices of scientific institutions, only the school in Sverdlovsk continues to operate.

Under these conditions much responsibility in the training of personnel rests with the main sociological center of our country--the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The system of the training of scientists is formed here from the following directions of activity: specialized scientific councils for defenses of dissertations; the training of graduate students and seekers of academic degrees; permanent methodological seminars; the training of researchers who are doing probationary work and have been temporarily assigned from peripheral scientific and industrial centers; scientific methods and consultative assistance to experienced sociologists, party, economic, trade union and Komsomol executives.

The work of the three specialized scientific councils for defenses of dissertations is the most important direction of the training of personnel and a unique indicator of the efficiency of the activity of graduate studies, doctoral studies, scientific probationary work and the seeking of a degree. Since 1976 24 doctors and 67 candidates of sciences have defended themselves in these councils. The themes of the dissertations, which are submitted for defense, are not always connected with the basic scientific research developments of the institute. Meanwhile, this is a necessary condition. In each specific case it must be strictly determined, whether it is worthwhile to accept one work or another for defense, on the basis of the interests of the development of sociological science.

Particular importance is being attached to training in the graduate studies of the Institute of Sociological Research, since in the absence of specialized faculties or departments at higher educational institutions it is practically the only form of the training of highly skilled staffs of sociologists. In the past 5 years 112 people have completed graduate studies of the institute, 181 are now studying. Nearly all the union republics, as well as Bulgaria, Hungary, Mongolia and Colombia are represented here. The main problems, with which the institute is faced in the work with graduate students, are the lack of precise criteria when selecting enrolling students, as a result of which it is possible at times to find in graduate studies people who are not capable in the future of organizing and independently conducting sociological studies. There are also miscalculations in the selection of scientific supervisors and in the organization of the educational process. The different basic education of the graduate students hinders training greatly. Specialists with an education in the humanities usually experience difficulties when becoming familiar with the objects of the study--various labor collectives, while those with a technical education experience difficulties in the work with a vast amount of specialized literature. Many months and years are usually spent on this, and it is no accident that in the past 5 years only 24 people out of 112 according to the plan were able within the set time to conduct research on the themes of dissertations and to defend them. In all 47 graduate students have already prepared dissertations and have gone through preliminary discussion in the departments.

S. I. Faybushevich, senior scientific associate of the Leningrad Institute of Finance Economics imeni N. A. Voznesenskiy: At our institute the training of industrial sociologists is carried out on the basis of the specialty "the economics of labor" by the Chair of Sociology and the Scientific Organization of Labor. Along with an extensive group of economic disciplines the students study the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist sociology, social planning, the psychology and physiology of labor and the methods and techniques of sociological research and become acquainted with the basic directions of bourgeois sociology. During the practical production work at leading Leningrad enterprises the students study the work of the sociological services of plants, factories and associations.

The training concludes with a graduation composition (project) on a sociological problem. However, the fact that the training of sociologists is carried out within the framework of a specialization (and not a specialty!), deprives enterprises of the opportunity to send orders precisely for sociologists, while the graduates, who specialized in sociology, are assigned together with specialists in the scientific organization of labor. Frequently they end up in subdivisions, where sociological knowledge is not required.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences G. P. Davidyuk, professor of the Belorussian State University imeni V. I. Lenin: The training of sociological personnel has been organized at our university in the Department of Philosophy of the History Faculty. At first only three small special courses, then six, were given to future sociologists. In 1975 the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education approved the curriculum (specially for the Philosophy Department of the Belorussian State University). Since then 12 special courses 660 hours in length have been given to students, and there is every reason to assert that the university graduates specialists in applied sociology. In 10 years more than 100 professional sociologists have been trained.

Ye. N. Petrova, senior instructor of the Chair of the Theory of Scientific Communism and Sociology of the Philosophy Faculty of the Ural State University imeni A. M. Gor'kiy, and O. M. Yudinsteva, chief of the Sociological Laboratory of the university: The sociological training of students is carried out here by the Department of Scientific Communism. Annually up to a fourth of the graduates of this department are assigned as sociologists to industrial enterprises of the Urals and Siberia.

The methodology and methods of sociological research are taught in accordance with a 140-hour program. Here 70 hours are assigned to lectures, 56 hours--to seminar classes and 14 hours--to practical lessons. A survey course, which is devoted to the examination of the contribution of the classics of Marxism-Leninism to the formation of sociology as a science, to the basic stages and directions of the development of concrete sociological studies in the USSR (22 hours), as well as a statistics course (64 hours) precede all this. Moreover, a series of special courses on the questions of social planning, economics and the organization of industrial production, the socialist way of life, the spiritual culture of socialism, the all-round development of the individual, communist education, the emergence of communist labor and the sociological problems of labor collectives is given.

In our opinion, the need has arisen for the elaboration of a standard program of the teaching of sociology at the higher educational institutions of the country. The scholars and specialists of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Soviet Sociological Association could have a significant say here. The question of a textbook in sociology for universities and other educational institutions is also becoming urgent.

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SCIENTIFIC LIFE

CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST CULTURE, MASS MEDIA

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
(signed to press 27 Oct 83) pp 172-173

[Article by S. N. Plotnikov: "The Substantiation of Social Policy in the Sphere of Culture"]

[Text] The All-Union Applied Science Conference, which was held in Kishinev on the initiative of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Scientific and Economic Society, the USSR State Planning Committee, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the USSR Ministry of Culture, was devoted to the socio-economic problems of the development of socialist culture and the mass media. In opening the conference, Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor A. V. Bachurin stressed its scientific and practical topicality.

M. I. Tsvetkov and V. G. Zinin, responsible officials of the USSR State Planning Committee, told about the material and technical base of modern Soviet culture. Today there are 350,000 libraries, 137,000 club institutions, 160,000 movie projectors, 1,800 museums, 610 professional theaters and 145 symphonies in the country, 4,648 television stations are in operation, more than 80,000 titles of books are published annually. And at the same time there are also unsolved problems. So far more than 4,000 promising population centers with more than 500 inhabitants do not have clubs and libraries, while 32 percent of the clubs operate in unadapted premises. There are no theaters in such large cities as Togliatti and Brezhnev, 35 million inhabitants of the country do not yet have the technical means to watch television. There is not enough fiction and children's literature, restrictions exist in subscribing to some newspapers and journals.

Up to now, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences S. S. Shatalin noted in his report, culture from the economic point of view has been regarded as a nonproduction sphere, the allocations for the development of which are established in the context of consumption, that is, only after the needs of physical production have been satisfied. Meanwhile the development of the national economy, the successful introduction of the achievements of science and conscious labor discipline depend on the educational and cultural level of each worker. The increase of the well-being of the people is also inconceivable outside the familiarization of each person with the values of culture. The allocations for the development of culture are also a contribution to physical production.

Precisely such an approach to culture is the basis for the Comprehensive Program of the Scientific and Technical Progress of the USSR for the Long-Range Future, which is now being drawn up by the Academy of Sciences and the State Committee for Science and Technology. In a special section of this program, the basic conception of which was set forth in the report of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor B. A. Grushin, an attempt is made to evaluate culture as a unified complex which encompasses various types of social activity. The basic difficulties in the implementation of such an approach are connected with a number of substantial gaps in the present state of the theory of culture, particularly the inadequate study of the relations of culture with other spheres of social life--economics, social relations, politics and so forth. Tradition views the development of culture in terms of the "supply" of various kinds of products and services to the population, "cultural service." However, in case of such an approach many essential aspects of the process, including the cultural activity itself of the population, turn out to be outside the parentheses. In such a situation it is necessary to seek other means of analysis, and first of all on the basis of the study of the historically forming trends in the development of the cultural needs of the population, the use of the categories of "free time" for the purposes of the comprehensive evaluation of the functioning of all the sectors and subsectors of culture and their efficiency in the achievement of the most important social and economic goals.

The report of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor S. N. Plotnikov was devoted to the correlation of the social and the economic in cultural policy. The now prevailing system of indicators of cultural development was constructed within the framework of the economic approach. However, quantitative economic indicators (for example, the increase of the number of clubs) do not give an idea of meaningful social processes (the quality of the work of clubs as institutions of culture). Since our state plans are plans of not only economic, but also social development, it is necessary to elaborate a scientific conception of cultural policy, which would unite both the social and the economic approaches to the development of culture in the future.

On the initiative of the USSR Ministry of Culture a major all-union study has been launched by the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Art Criticism for the drafting of a long-term plan of the further improvement of the cultural service of the population. During the implementation of this plan, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Yu. U. Fokht-Babushkin, deputy director of the institute, noted, scholars are striving to take into account all the types of contacts of the population with art and to examine the interrelationship of the attitude of people toward art with their personal development and productivity in the most important spheres of social practice. The scholars intend to ascertain, what the needs of the population for institutions of art culture are today, what they will become after a specific number of years and, finally, what scale of needs should be considered socially advisable. Thus, the results of this study will help to make the plans of cultural construction scientifically sound.

USSR Deputy Minister of Culture P. I. Shabanov cast light on the question of how important it is to have scientific criteria for the making of decisions on the location and construction of new institutions of culture.

For the increase of the level of movie service, Yu. V. Nikol'skiy, chief of the Economic Planning and Financial Administration of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography, noted in his report, it is necessary to carry out the constant study of the social composition of the movie audience and the demand of the population for various films. The territorial distribution of the movie network and the introduction of new technical equipment in movie showing also require scientific substantiation.

S. I. Nikonorov, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Television and Radio Broadcasting, and G. T. Deribas, chief of a laboratory, spoke about the need to enlarge the satellite systems of television so that the entire population of the country could watch telecasts. Other technical problems also await their solution--for the present only 20 percent of the population is covered by centralized stereo radio broadcasting, the technical possibilities of cable television are being poorly utilized. And still not the technical, but the social problems, which are connected with the role of television in the structure of leisure, prove to be the most complicated.

D. N. Solov'yev, chief of the Economic Planning and Financial Administration of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, stressed that the constant study of the mechanism of the demand of the population for printed products and the scientific substantiation of thematic planning and the numbers of copies of books and journals are necessary for the further development of the book publishing business, the periodic press and the printing industry.

On the basis of the materials of the conference recommendations were drawn up and the basic directions of both practical and research work were specified. In particular, the conference recommended that the training of sociologists, as well as specialists in planning and management in the sphere of culture be started.

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FINNISH-SOVIET DEMOGRAPHY SEMINAR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
(signed to press 27 Oct 83) pp 173-174

[Article by T. D. Ivanova: "A Finnish-Soviet Seminar on the Problems of Demography"]

[Text] A Finnish-Soviet seminar on the problems of the natural and migratory movement of the population, which was organized by the Demographic Society of Finland in conformity with the program of scientific and technical cooperation of the two countries, was held in Helsinki. On the Soviet side Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences T. V. Ryabushkin, Doctor of Economic Sciences L. L. Rybakovskiy and Candidates of Economic Sciences T. D. Ivanova, G. P. Kiseleva and L. V. Makarova took part in the seminar. The themes of the statements of the Soviet and Finnish scholars were identical.

The reports devoted to reproductive behavior and questions of fertility aroused particular interest. The Soviet and Finnish demographers spoke with great anxiety about the decline in both countries of the level of the birth rate to less than the limit necessary for the assurance of the reproduction of the population. The speakers stated that reproductive behavior as a research problem in both the USSR and Finland had succeeded decades of the study of the so-called differentiated birth rate, that is, the differences in the number of children of families subject to their social status and living conditions. However, this direction of scientific research proved to be unproductive. Finnish demographers noted the great achievements of Soviet scholars in the study of reproductive behavior. In particular, the method, which was proposed by well-known Soviet demographer V. A. Borisov for the determination of the hypothetical minimum of the natural birth rate, interested them.

In the reports devoted to the evolution of the age structure and the length of life of the population it was noted that the decline of the birth rate and death rate in different age groups leads to an increase of the proportion of people of older age. This process will continue, and in a large number of countries its rate will increase significantly. By the end of the century the population of the economically less developed states will also age noticeably. Although the aging of the population is first of all a demographic process, its consequences go far beyond the subject of demography and give rise to a number of important socioeconomic problems: the increase of the load on the employed population, the increase of the direct outlays of the state on the

payment of pensions, the increase of the demands on medical, municipal, personal, recreational, cultural and other types of service.

Soviet and Finnish scholars have a different approach to the study of the processes of migration. Finnish sociologists for the most part are studying the quantitative aspects of the domestic and international migration of the population, Soviet sociologists are analyzing the directions and consequences of migration, the adaptation of migrants, the cause-effect relationships of migratory processes with the level of the socioeconomic development of regions.

Several differences in questions of demographic forecasting came to light during the discussion. The scheme of the calculation of the future size of the population as a whole, which is used by Soviet sociologists, differs fundamentally from the scheme of its calculation in individual regions. At the national level the process of the reproduction of the population is rigidly set and its change is determined only by the indicators of natural movement--the nature of the marriage rate, the divorce rate, the birth rate and the death rate. The elaboration of hypotheses of not only the natural, but also the migratory movement, which in aggregate also determine the reality of the calculations of the population for the future, holds an important place in the methodology of forecasting at the regional level.

In Finland in case of calculations of the future size of the population both for the country as a whole and for individual territorial administrative units the formulation of forecasts of the foreign migration, which is connected with the domestic possibilities of job placement, is especially complicated. The peculiarities of the management of the reproduction and migratory processes, it was stressed by the speakers, are governed, on the one hand, by the socio-political system which dominates in the country and, on the other, are connected with the specific nature of demographic processes. The management of reproductive activity and migration, at least its scale and intensity, should be designed for a long-term period, during which gradual changes occur in demographic and migratory behavior.

At the seminar it was noted that substantial changes have occurred in the theory of the management of demographic processes. Whereas until recently the dynamics of demographic parameters were made directly dependent on some materials conditions or others, now their development is being examined in interconnected with the evolution of demographic behavior.

During the work of the seminar the sides came to the opinion that a large number of questions, for example, reproductive behavior, problems of the family and several others are of mutual interest and can serve as the basis for future scientific contacts and the sharing of experience.

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7807

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NEWS ITEMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
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[Article: "News Items"]

[Text] The All-Union Applied Science Conference "The Urgent Problems of the Communist Education of the Young Scientific, Technical and Engineering Intelligentsia," which was organized by the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, the Central Committee of Komsomol of Armenia, the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, was held in Yerevan. Secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee A. V. Zhuganov, Academician Secretary of the Department of Social Sciences of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences G. A. Brutyan and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor F. R. Filippov, chief of a department of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, delivered the main reports to those who had gathered. The questions of the ideological and political education of the young intelligentsia and its creative activity and the means of increasing the effectiveness of the work of Komsomol organizations with young scientists and specialists were discussed at the meetings of the sections. Recommendations, in which the means of improving ideological and political educational work among the intelligentsia were outlined, were adopted at the conference.

N. M. Nayborodenko

The urgent problems of the use of the manpower resources of Arkhangelsk Oblast in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress were discussed at an applied science conference in Arkhangelsk. The deterioration of the demographic situation in the region was noted in the reports of First Deputy Chairman of the Arkhangelsk Oblast Soviet Executive Committee N. D. Fedorov, Doctor of Economic Sciences L. L. Rybakovskiy, chief of the Department of Demography of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Yu. V. Lukin, a worker of the oblast committee of the CPSU, and B. K. Valiotti, deputy chief of the Department for Labor and Social Problems of the oblast soviet executive committee, which were devoted to the tasks of the formation and use of manpower resources. Recommendations, which outline the means of the improvement of the labor supply, the demographic situation and the conditions of the labor and daily life of the population of Arkhangelsk Oblast, were

elaborated during the discussion. In this connection it was proposed to create in Arkhangelsk a scientific center for the study of the socioeconomic and demographic problems of the European North of the RSFSR.

V. B. Kozlov, A. I. Pika

The Sixth All-Union Congress of the USSR Society of Psychologists was held in Moscow on 18-22 August 1983. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences B. F. Lomov, president of the Society of Psychologists, delivered the report "The State and Prospects of the Development of Soviet Psychological Science in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the Decrees of the November (1982) and June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenums" at the plenary meeting. The following themes were discussed at the symposia of the congress: the categories, principles and methods of psychology; the individual in the system of social relations; sociopsychological problems under the conditions of mature socialist society; the psychological problems of the increase of the efficiency and quality of labor; the problems of psychophysiology; training, education and mental health; the diagnosis of disorders and the restoration of the mental functions of a person.

S. D. Prudius

An interrepublic scientific conference, at which the problems of the way of life and the efficient use by students of the budget of time were discussed, was held in Kaunas. Candidate of Historical Sciences Yu. I. Leonavichus, chief of the Sociological Laboratory of Kaunas Polytechnical Institute imeni A. Snehkus, delivered the main report. Recommendations, which are aimed at the improvement of the planning and organization of study and extracurricular time of students, were adopted in accordance with the results of the discussion, the prospects of further studies of the questions of the optimization of the way of life of student youth were outlined.

G. A. Netsenko

The second session of the International Sociological School, which was devoted to the 165th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, "The Sociological Heritage of Karl Marx and the Study of Social Structure and the Way of Life," was held in Grunheid (the GDR). Academician W. Kalweit, vice president of the GDR Academy of Sciences, and Professor V. Dobriyanov, director of the International Sociological School, greeted the participants in the session. Those who had gathered examined a wide range of questions, which are connected with the sociological conception of Marx and the tasks of its further elaboration. The sociological practice of the countries of the socialist community, as well as the best known trends and schools of bourgeois sociology were analyzed in light of the ideas of Marx. A meeting of the Scientific Council of the International Sociological School, at which organizational questions were discussed, was held. It was decided to convene the third session of the International Sociological School in 1985 in the USSR.

A. N. Vlasova

The regular (fifth) colloquium of researchers of the sociological problems of young people, as well as the regular meeting of the task force "Education and

Mobility" of the Problem Commission of Multilateral Cooperation of the Academies of Sciences of the Socialist Countries "The Evolution of the Social Structure of Socialist Society. Social Planning and Forecasting" were organized in Leipzig. A delegation of Soviet scientists, who represented the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee and the Center for the Study, Forecasting and Formation of Public Opinion attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, took part in the discussions which took place at the colloquium and the meeting of the task force. The colloquium participants unanimously adopted an appeal in support of the Prague Declaration of the Warsaw Pact member countries. A joint protocol was signed in accordance with the results of the meeting of the task force.

V. A. Malova

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7807

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BOOK REVIEWS

DESIGNING OF SOCIAL OBJECTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
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[Review by O. L. Leybovich and Z. I. Faynburg of book "Sotsial'noye proyektirovaniye" [Social Designing] by Zh. T. Toshchenko, N. A. Aitov and N. I. Lapin, Mysl', Moscow, 1982, 254 pages]

[Text] The book of the well-known Soviet sociologists is devoted to one of the most complicated aspects of social management: the complete, systems characterization of social objects which are being formed (new and are being renovated)--enterprises, cities, territorial production complexes. An idea, which is of general methodological importance, is consistently advanced in the monograph: at the present stage of the building of communism social factors proper form the basis of progress in all spheres of social life, therefore any national economic decisions should from the start take into account the social components of development.

The authors stress that they see their task primarily in the presentation of hypotheses which concern social designing as a specific planning activity, "the essence of which consists in the scientifically sound determination of the basic parameters of the formation of future social objects or processes with the maximum observance and coordination of the interests of socialist society, social groups (strata) and the individual" (p 21).

The comprehensive approach to the social problems of the object being created, the choice of the basic unit, the need for the neutralization of possible negative consequences, which are caused by the appearance of the new object, and the determination of the strategy and the time intervals of its creation are distinguished as the methodological principles of social designing. The methods of social designing include the matrix of ideas, "the becoming accustomed to a role" (by this term the authors signify the elaboration of a specific idea about precisely what social object it is necessary to build), analogies and associations, the method of "brainstorming" and so forth. The first chapter of the book is devoted to all these questions, as well as to the stages of social designing. Unfortunately, here there are too many general arguments and vague formulations. The goals of social planning, for example, are defined insufficiently clearly (pp 21-22), which attests to the underestimation of the conceptual approach and the need to seek not immediate, but stable and, at the same time, sufficiently specific parameters which are closely linked with the conditions of the object and with its development in time.

The statement of the question about the goals of social designing (p 209), perhaps, is more conceptual, but vagueness is also retained here: What is at the center of attention of the designer? Is it the collectives, or is it the individual, or is it the relations of collectives and people?

In the subsequent chapters the authors proceed from the thesis that, being a component of social planning, social designing encompasses all the social aspects of the life of a person in conformity with the three levels of social organization and is aimed at the labor collective, the city and the territorial production complex (p 24).

Relying on specific sociological studies, they analyze the peculiarities of the social composition of the collectives of enterprises both in the areas of new development and in inhabited regions and suggest various means and methods of the creation of stable labor collectives: the elimination or the reduction to a minimum of difficult, monotonous and unskilled labor; the development of a system of motivational factors which influence the behavior of a person and his attitude toward work; the organization of the vocational training of personnel and so on.

It would seem that from the point of view of theory all the prerequisites of the assurance of the stability of collectives have been examined. However, in practice (to which the materials of empirical studies attest) the situation is significantly more complicated. For example, at new enterprises, where the workers are immediately given a high category (which most often does not correspond to their true skills, or the category is predetermined by the workplace), housing with all modern conveniences, a high wage and so forth, the efficiency of labor often turns out to be far from the required efficiency, discipline leaves much to be desired, the latest equipment is operated not at the proper technical level. In our opinion, when distributing material benefits it is necessary to use strictly the criterion of competitiveness, which, however, is developed and operates effectively only in already formed collectives. Hence follows a specific and very difficult task of social designing: the formation of the collective of future workers before the enterprise has been put into operation, the providing of the conditions for the development of the relations of competitiveness in connection with material stimulation. The real content of this problem is not completely reflected in the book.

The authors name as the basic objects of the social designing of a new city "...the way of life and the activity of people in various spheres of social life, which are taken in inseparable connection with the conditions of its accomplishment..." (p 110). By noting the need for close attention to the social infrastructure, the researchers are thereby emphasizing its most important role in the formation of the socialist way of life. The advisability of the designing in a new city of more favorable conditions, as compared with old cities, for labor activity, community political work, everyday family relations and creative work in the sphere of culture is substantiated in the book. All this, undoubtedly, will arouse particular interest of the reader who is a sociologist.

A special section is devoted to the strategy and tactics of the development of new cities. The authors advocate, in particular, the scientifically sound

financing of the construction simultaneously of housing and social, cultural and personal service facilities, a single client both when designing and when building the city and a comprehensive approach to the solution of ecological problems. The typical disagreements of the social design with the master plan of the city, which are identified in the book, attract attention. Hence follows the problem of the radical improvement of such plans so that the main thing in them--the social development of cities--would not come into conflict with the construction and architectural decisions. This question is closely connected with the social designing of territorial production complexes and industrial centers. It is well known that the territorial aspect of planning and management as compared with the sectorial aspect has been poorly elaborated. Social designing at the level of the territorial production complex to some extent should, according to the idea of the authors, help to fuse together the interests of production and the vital needs of the workers from the point of view of the territory.

In the concluding chapter "The Urgent Problems of the Improvement of Social Designing Under Present Conditions" the principles and methods of the drafting of planning documents are formulated, the procedure of the construction and the content of the tree of socioeconomic goals and the means of designing are specified, the role of social standards in the improvement of new objects and the objects being renovated is defined more accurately. In the presentation of the materials the researchers in fact stop at the threshold of applied methods proper.

One should group with the unquestionable merits of the book the close connection of the theoretical questions posed in it with life, with social practice. It is important to emphasize that materials of sociological studies, which were conducted under the supervision of the authors in Siberia and the Urals, as well as works of other Soviet sociologists are enlisted for the analysis of scientific problems.

The book is attractive for its humanistic ring and its orientation toward the all-round development of the person. At the same time in the statement of the problems of social designing much remains unclear. This is especially perceptible in those instances when it is a question of the designing of social relations proper. For example, the relations of collectivity, which are repeatedly mentioned in the book, are nowhere called an immediate and in the end the main object of social designing. In our opinion, this is an oversight of the authors. However, the poor sections are most often a consequence of the poor elaboration of the problem. As a whole the attempt to speed up the process of the development of the methodology and methods of social designing turned out well. The monograph is very timely and will be of appreciable use in the matter of the further improvement of social planning and the scientific management of the development of Soviet society.

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7807

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INFLUENCE OF SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL REVOLUTION ON CULTURE

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[Review by T. I. Adulo and Ye. M. Babosov of book "NTR kak sotsial'yy protsess" [The Scientific and Technical Revolution as a Social Process], Nauka, Moscow, 1982, 238 pages]

[Text] The scientific and technical revolution, which has become a permanent part of the material and spiritual world of modern man, for a long time has attracted the close attention of researchers. In the collective monograph being reviewed an attempt is made to reveal the humanistic nature of the scientific and technical revolution under the conditions of socialism. This question has not yet received adequate coverage in Soviet sociological literature, which in itself arouses the reader's interest in the new work of V. I. Belozertsev, G. N. Volkov, V. M. Mezhuyev and other scholars.

After examining in the broadest context the changes which are occurring under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution in the sphere of physical production, the authors focus attention on the identification of the relations between the material and the spiritual and on the study of the dynamics of culture. It is well known that even under the conditions of socialist society the humanistic processes, which occur under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution in the area of spiritual life, do not take place automatically. Many urgent problems and contradictions arise here. The question, in precisely what way are the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution becoming in our country a means for the all-round development of the individual, is touched upon in the book.

The authors study the present cultural situation on the level of the moral, esthetic and intellectual consequences for man, emphasizing that "the actual role of the scientific and technical revolution in the cultural development of mankind can be properly understood and appraised only when it is placed in direct connection with the entire set of socioeconomic and sociocultural changes which characterize the concrete historical type of social development" (pp 71-72).

The authors examine the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on the development of culture in two interconnected aspects: as an objective cause of the origination in man of the new need for culture and as the basis

of the formation of the mechanisms of the mass production and the mass dissemination of culture, its scientific and technical reequipment, industrialization and institutionalization. When analyzing individual creativity, the place and role of the individual in modern culture, the problem of free time and the connection of the latter with the process of the formation of spiritual culture the decisive core for the authors of the book is the revelation of the humanistic nature of the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on culture under the conditions of socialism, when "not only the reequipment of labor (both material and spiritual), not only its reorganization on a new technological basis, but also the freeing of man from all those forms of labor, in which he is depicted as a simple physical force, as a mechanical performer of a function, which has been assigned to him from outside... are the main socioeconomic and cultural impact of the scientific and technical revolution" (p 93).

The problem of the interaction of society and nature, man and equipment, which was aggravated under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, found reflection on the pages of the book. Examining it in the social historical aspect, the authors come to the conclusion that "communism as realized humanism acts as a real resolution of the antagonism between man and nature, as with the antagonism between man and society" (p 130).

The humanistic orientation and the means of the optimization of social management under socialism are revealed in the monograph. The generalizations and conclusions, which are contained in this section of the book, prove to be in keeping with the great and varied work on the improvement of planning and management, which is being performed in our country in conformity with the instructions of the November (1982) and June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenums.

The analysis of the humanistic potential of the scientific and technical revolution becomes even more vivid against the background of the critical appraisal of the philosophical and sociological conceptions of the bourgeois ideologists T. Adorno, H. Marcuse, J. Habermas, (H. Shelskiy) and others. The authors were able to show the contradictoriness of the approach of western philosophers and sociologists to the solution of the most important problems of the present: the subordination of the sociocultural and technical levels of society and the place of man in the system of production relations. In the monograph the apologetic nature of the majority of bourgeois conceptions is revealed, their irrational orientation and pessimistic and antihumane essence are shown.

It seems, however, that the works of contemporary bourgeois futurologists--D. Bell, A. Toffler and others, who devote, as is known, much attention to various aspects of the scientific and technical revolution, including its study as a sociocultural phenomenon--should also have been analyzed in the book. And there is another remark: in the book the fundamental connection between the individual chapters is not always observed, some sections of the work noticeably escape the general logical scheme.

One must group with the indisputable merits of the monograph the fact that its authors do not avoid assumptions of a debatable nature, strive to overcome the

oversimplified views of the interaction of the scientific and technical revolution and spiritual culture, which are encountered at times in the literature, link theoretical analysis with the interpretation of empirical material and the practice of the building of communism, defend and promote Marxist humanism and wage an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology. The book helps not only to clarify complicated theoretical questions of social development, but also to be more thoroughly imbued with the main, decisive idea of the authors: the truly humanistic solution of the problems, which stem from the scientific and technical revolution, is possible only under the conditions of socialism.

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THEORY OF ORGANIZATIONS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 83
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[Review by A. I. Kravchenko of book "Organizatsii: sistemy i lyudi" [Organizations: Systems and People] by A. I. Prigozhin, Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 176 pages]

[Text] Having formed at the meeting point of the sociology of labor and the science of management, the problem of organizations has become in recent years an independent direction of research developments. This is due first of all to the fact that a significant practical potential is incorporated in the activity of organizations. The organized cooperation and the great consistency of the interaction of the participants in the production process can yield a perceptible increase of labor productivity with the same material expenditures. The social aspect proper of the problem is also no less important. Being a form of expression of the collective being of man, socialist organizations promote the improvement of social relations and the cultivation of a harmoniously developed individual.

The theoretical and practical importance of the book of A. I. Prigozhin lies in the orientation toward the identification of the social reserves of joint labor activity. Many complicated, unsolved problems, which are connected with the existing shortcomings in planning and management, departmentalism and the lack of coordination of the interests of the collective, the sector, the region and society as a whole, exist here. Interesting thoughts and conclusions, which make it possible to establish the costs of some shortcomings or others, as well as the means of their elimination, are contained in the book. For example, the author analyzes thoroughly the mechanisms of the function of "superorganizations," in which the partnership of organizations of different departments has been reduced to a common managerial denominator. Frequently this causes the growth of the managerial staff, the spread of directive methods of management and the limitation of the independence of enterprises.

The attention to practical problems in itself makes the book interesting and useful. However, the essence of the matter is not confined to this. The work of A. I. Prigozhin, which is being reviewed, like his preceding book "Sotsiologiya organizatsiy" [The Sociology of Organizations], is of a research nature and, undoubtedly, will evoke conflicting opinions and appraisals. Therefore the methodological aspect of the study of organizations is acquiring particular

importance for specialists. What is the scientific novelty of the author's view of the problem? It seems that the main thing here is the conception of organizational innovations, which is closely connected with the theory of the experiment. Prigozhin convincingly demonstrates that "an experiment is the practical use of a novelty on a limited scale for the purpose of checking it for extensive use.... The purpose of an experiment consists in the obtaining of that information about the qualities of the novelty being proposed, which it is impossible to obtain by means of preliminary forecasts, no matter how perfect they might be. The most careful theoretical and design elaboration of a measure being planned cannot envisage all the significant consequences and difficulties of its implementation" (p 163). The experiment and advanced know-how are usually not differentiated in the literature, which leads to a number of methodological errors. Prigozhin interprets advanced know-how as the nonexperimental use of new forms and methods of the organization of production, which is possible only on the basis of the positive experience of individual enterprises. The need for an experiment arises when it is impossible to predict in advance the end result of an innovation. By interpreting advanced know-how and the experiment as different forms of organizational change, Prigozhin, unfortunately, loses sight of the fact that it is also possible to regard them as two independent stages of the same process. For such well-known forms of innovations as the brigade contract, the Shchekino method and many others, which have become a part of the gold reserve of the socialist organization of labor, in their time went through the stage of the experiment, which, incidentally, the author himself also mentions (p 164). The introduction of innovations also involves the rearrangement of the relations existing in the organization, the breakup of the old and the overcoming of a certain conservatism. At times it is asserted that the resistance to innovations in organizations is an exclusively psychological problem. The author opposes the excessive psychologization of this phenomenon and gives it a broader interpretation, which is based on the objective status of people in the organization and the place and role of the worker in the process of production (p 126).

The section of the book, in which the method of economic experimentation, which has been poorly elaborated in scientific literature, is examined, is especially useful for applied sociologists. In the program of the experiment the author distinguishes such features as the substantiation of the advisability of the innovation, the hypotheses about its consequences and the specification of the experimental and control objects. However, in our opinion, this section should have been set forth not as a survey, but analytically, dwelling in detail on each item of the sociological program. Not only plant sociologists, but also economic managers and party workers, who in their official capacity constantly deal with social innovations, expect good methods of the introduction of sociological recommendations from scholars. To some extent the indicated shortcoming is offset by the chapter "The Consultant in the Organization." Prigozhin defines the role of the latter as the role of an intermediary between the manager and the scholar, of a man who combines in a single person science and practical work. "The specialist in consulting has his own technology of the conversion of laws and trends into diagnoses and recommendations. In his work laboratory there are techniques and methods of the introduction of generalized knowledge in specific recommendations" (p 141).

Such are the problems of those sections of the book under review, which in their aggregate form a part of the overall conception of Prigozhin. As to its theoretical and methodological assumptions, in our opinion, they are not indisputable.

It is obvious that any organization as a main component includes people. The equipment and technology here form the initial prerequisite, the internal environment, which the author, proceeding from the goals of his study, leaves in parentheses, focusing the analysis on the formal and informal structure of the organization. They also set the rational rules, to which people adhere in their joint activity. The methods of the formalization of relations, the norms and values of behavior of people in the organization, the nature of the administrative status, the forms of group specialization by functions and goals and the different types of structure--linear, staff, matrix--are examined in detail in the book. In revealing the dual nature of management, the author correctly records the social class basis of the interpersonal relations of people. Precisely it determines the socially significant meaning and content of joint labor activity. However, here Prigozhin does not analyze thoroughly enough the internal mechanism of its manifestation in the social structure of the collective.

The dichotomy "formal-informal relations" is being used more and more extensively in empirical studies. However, the absolutization of this principle can result in serious methodological errors. It is worthwhile to dwell in greater detail on this feature. What are the nature and essence of formal relations? Production relations, which exist regardless of the will and consciousness of people, constitute the main content of national labor, while political administrative, particularly managerial, relations act as the form of their expression. By changing them, people consciously and systematically regulate social production. But such a change should be based on knowledge of the relations of ownership, the method of linking the worker with the means of production and so on. The incompleteness of the knowledge of objective laws leads to errors in planning and management. Obviously, managerial relations, both informal and formal, are superstructural formations, and the attempts of the author to reveal the "third nature" (=organizations) between the material and the ideal, the base and the superstructure in their essence are unfounded. The fact that organizational relations are embodied in orders, instructions and other standard documents, does not give reasons for the conclusion about the "quasimaterial" nature of organizations. Here we are faced with nothing other than the phenomenon of the "reification of the concept": willingly or unwillingly the status of ready materiality is lent to it. But this is already a problem of the methodology of social knowledge, which the author needs to investigate more thoroughly. The philosophical gnoseological questions of the systems approach, which make it possible to differentiate between the formal and meaningful aspects of the matter and to define more precisely the status of the categories being used, come to the forefront here.

In spite of the questionability of some assumptions (however, the advancement of science is impossible without the posing of controversial questions), the work of Prigozhin is executed at a high ideological and professional level. The specific material, which was obtained by the author, covers thoroughly and in a new way the little studied problems of the sociology of organizations. It is certain that the book will be received with interest by both specialists and the reading audience at large.

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MATHEMATICS IN SOCIOLOGY

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[Review by B. Z. Doktorov of book "Kolichestvennyye metody v sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniyakh" [Quantitative Methods in Sociological Research] by V. I. Paniotto and V. S. Maksimenko, Naukova dumka, Kiev, 1982, 272 pages]

[Text] Among the books, which have been published in recent years and are devoted to the problems of the mathematical processing of the materials of sociological studies, perhaps, it is difficult to distinguish such a book which it would be possible with good reason to call a textbook and to recommend to sociologists for first and at the same time serious acquaintance with the methods of the statistical analysis of empirical data. Many of the sociologists of the humanities cannot overcome a kind of fear of textbooks on mathematics and prefer (not seeing another solution) to obtain the necessary knowledge, or more precisely information, "secondhand." However, such a system of acquiring skills is not capable of effectively promoting the increase of the mathematical culture of sociologists and, consequently, the increase of the quality of sociological research.

The monograph of V. I. Paniotto and V. S. Maksimenko reads with unabating interest: the sociologist, who does not have a specialized education, will find here practically everything that is necessary for the planning and mathematical processing of data. It is safe to assume that the book being reviewed will become an irreplaceable aid in the mastering of the language of statistics, as well as the procedural culture of the analysis of sociological information. In the monograph all the formulas, which a sociologist has to use, are cited, and the internal logic of mathematical methods will become clear to the reader. Another peculiarity of the book, which brings it close to a textbook, should be noted. The authors offer a large number of exercises, in the correctness of the solution of which it is possible to be convinced by comparing them, as in a school book of problems, with the answers. And finally, a large number of examples of the processing and interpretation of "living" sociological material are presented here.

The central place in the monograph is assigned to two problems: the checking of hypotheses and the measuring of the dependences between the variables being studied by the sociologist. It is impossible not to agree with such an approach: it is a question of the really key features of the processing and

analysis of sociological information. It should be noted: both the examination of the degrees of correlation and the analysis of the basic principles and algorithms of the checking of statistical hypotheses are carried out in the book exceptionally clearly and at the same time correctly, which, undoubtedly, helps the reader who is a sociologist to master the body of mathematics.

Other sections, particularly the one devoted to the problems of the representation of the distributions of statistical material and the calculation of the simplest characteristics of distribution, as well as the chapter, in which the modern methods of the multivariate analysis of information are presented, are also interesting. In reading these chapters, you are convinced that the authors with full right took the trouble to advise sociologists. The problems examined in the monograph are familiar to them not by hearsay, but were thoroughly mastered in the course of research developments.

The practical usefulness of the book is especially great owing to the detailed description in it of the experience of the use by sociologists of programmable microcalculators (the Elektronika--BZ-21 and Elektronika--BZ-34). Not only arguments in defense of the use of table calculators, but, what is extremely important, programs of the calculation of various statistical parameters are cited.

The publication of special statistical tables, which the sociologist needs in his daily work, ensures the completeness of the monograph.

The authors made the choice of materials so soundly and solve the didactic problem, that it is difficult to reproach them for anything. In our opinion, only the chapter devoted to regression analysis is slightly out of line with the overall style of the work. It would easily be possible to drop it without impoverishing the content of the book. The problems of the calculation of partial correlations should have been examined along with the other degrees of correlation, while the problems of the construction of the multiple regression should have been examined together with the techniques of multivariate statistical analysis.

The error of the publisher should also be noted. The book, which by all its content and nature of presentation is oriented toward the applied sociologist and performs the responsible role of a textbook, of course, needs a subject index and a special bibliography on the problems of the use of mathematical methods in sociology.

As a whole the work of Paniotto and Maksimenko, undoubtedly, will prove to be useful to a wide range of specialists and will promote the increase of the mathematical culture of research. It only has to be regretted that the book, which is so necessary for the increase of the skills of sociologists, was published in an extremely small edition (2,400 copies).

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POWER, IDEOLOGY IN BRAZIL

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[Review by V. V. Razuvayev of book "Power and Ideology in Brazil" by P. McDonough, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1981, 326 pages]

[Text] Anyone who follows foreign sociological literature knows that monographs, in which the implementation of more or less major research projects, which have been carried out in the countries of Latin America, would be summarized, do not appear that often. Among the books of this kind, which have been published in recent years, the book of P. McDonough attracts attention by the broad empirical base which is the basis for the author's analysis.

In 1972-1973 American sociologists conducted in Brazil a number of surveys of the population. The range of problems being study was quite broad--from the attitude of various social groups toward the ruling regime to questions of contraception. The obtained data were not published for a long time, and only recently did a portion of them see the light. Among them is the monograph of McDonough, a senior research supervisor of the Center of Political Sciences of the University of Michigan. The theme of his research is the structure and ideological views of the Brazilian elite. Three indicators were taken into account when determining its composition. First, the high degree of influence on national politics. Two groups--the highest government officials (the executives of state companies and the ministries), as well as prominent businessmen (members of the directorates of industrial and financial enterprises)--meet this criterion in Brazil. Second, people who have "a specific formal representative function" (p 249)--the leaders of the trade union movement and political figures from the two parties which are permitted in Brazil: the government National Renovating Alliance (ARENA) and the oppositional Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB)--were included among the elite. The organizers of the study also considered it necessary to include bishops among the elite, although they do not satisfy the advanced criteria. And, finally, the factor of the "accessibility" of those being interviewed, which made it incumbent to exclude from those being surveyed the leaders of the armed forces and the associates of the president, was taken into account.

The use of the concept "the elite" as applied to the representatives of such dissimilar categories of the population, particularly the inclusion in the survey of the executives of trade union organizations, is the most debatable

provision of the work. The author attempts to prove that trade union activists have "concealed symbolic, ideological, standard" power and thus fit the concept of "the elite" (p 251). It is impossible to agree with such an interpretation of the status of labor leaders in Brazilian society: McDonough is obviously exaggerating the sociopolitical role of the trade unions, in Brazil it is not so great.

The survey showed that two-thirds of the Brazilian elite came from families belonging to the middle class, which is represented by store owners, teachers, instructors of higher educational institutions, middle-level government functionaries, physicians, lawyers and engineers (p 58). The trade union activists differ sharply in this respect from the rest of the elite: the parents of more than half of them (52 percent) earned a living by physical labor, while for businessmen, politicians and employees of state companies these indicators are equal respectively to 1, 2 and 8 percent (p 61).

The Brazilian elite, the author claims, does not form an exclusive caste and is open for reinforcement by means of representatives of the lowest social strata. The mandatory conditions of access to it are a higher education and ideological loyalty to the regime (p 55). However, the social factor is still of main importance for entering the ranks of the genuine elite--industrialists, financiers, the upper stratum of the state bureaucracy--since only the representatives of the upper strata of society can give their children a university education.

In examining the relations between the different groups of the elite, McDonough notes the isolation of labor leaders. The friendly contacts among "politicians" are the most developed (p 90), "businessmen" attach much greater importance to kinship ties.

The following conclusions of the researcher are noteworthy: the technocrats and especially the military at present have "too much power." On the contrary, the trade union leaders and the political figures from the MDB are playing a very insignificant role. The opponents of the ruling groups do not form a unified coalition, since each of the oppositional sectors is striving to get a little closer to the top of the new pyramid of power. The oppositional political figures are important supporters of political changes, the members of the ruling ARENA party are least inclined to reforms (p 122). However, until the opposition is at least relatively united, the ruling regime is able not to worry about its future.

The priests sharply criticize the ruling regime. Perhaps, this is also due to the fact that they represent the only corporation in Brazil, which is protected to some extent from the repression of the government. A larger portion of those surveyed believe that the opinion of the episcopate should be taken into account by the leadership of the country, but at the same time feel that the church will never become an equal participant in the secularized world of Brazilian politics.

The responses of the different groups of those surveyed on the most urgent social and political problems of the development of the country are of considerable interest. Thus, only the bishops and the oppositional politicians

categorically support the granting of the right to vote to illiterate citizens of the country, while the bulk of the elite disapprove of this suggestion (p 179). There are no significant differences in the ranks of the conservatives--industrialists, financiers, the civil administration. The positions of state managers and businessmen are especially similar. On the contrary, the camp of the "leftists" is split: the attitude of labor leaders toward amnesty, political opposition and political freedoms coincides more with the opinion of businessmen and state employees than that of the priests and functionaries of the MDB. Even in the responses to the question about the desirability of increasing the autonomy of the trade unions the labor leaders display great reserve. As a whole the trade union leaders are far from political liberalism and are more moderate than the managers of state companies and businessmen.

The oppositional figures from the MDB hold progressive positions on political and social issues. They support more actively than other groups of the elite the idea of direct elections, political amnesty, the increase of the participation of the population in social life, support the freedom of the press and so on. The only exception is: many functionaries of the MDB unexpectedly spoke in favor of the stepping up of the struggle against domestic subversive activity. In the opinion of McDonough, this is explained by the understandable aspiration of the opposition party to avoid accusations of activity of this kind.

It should be noted that the purely sociological processing of the materials was carried out by the author in a procedurally impeccable manner and on this level the monograph can serve as a model for similar works on the study of Latin American reality. At the same time McDonough draws conclusions which in general are self-evident: the authoritarian system in Brazil is unstable, while the elite in this country has "a large number of ideologies" (pp 235-237). In our opinion, the fact that when making the analysis the author relies exclusively on the results of "field" studies, weakens the work. Meanwhile it would have been possible to obtain data on the origin and views of the leaders of the Brazilian military establishment, which did not come into the field of view of the scholar, by having turned to press materials, memoirs and other accessible sources, and this would have increased substantially the value of the monograph. Apparently, the renunciation of the attempt to trace the changes, which occurred in the views of the elite after the survey, is also an oversight of McDonough. The world outlook of the trade union leaders, whose open conformism has been weakened slightly by social battles of past years, has undergone especially significant revision.

As a whole the monograph under review merits the most serious attention. The data presented in it are of great importance for the understanding of the realities of contemporary Brazilian politics.

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RELIGION AS POLITICAL WEAPON

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[Review by Yu. Ya. Tyurin of book "Religiya i sovremennost'" [Religion and the Present] by M. P. Mchedlov, Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 272 pages]

[Text] The present age is characterized by the weakening of the political and economic influence of imperialism. Under these conditions the ruling circles of the capitalist countries are attaching greater and greater importance to ideological means of the suppression of social protest and dissent. A special role is being assigned to religious beliefs, which appear in both traditional and modernized form. Here religion is frequently politicized, while reactionary policy uses religious dogmatic sermons as a cover. The clerical ideological complex is being used actively in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and real socialism, as well as for the purpose of disorienting the masses.

In the book of M. P. Mchedlov the essence and content of modern religious beliefs and the objective conditions of the reproduction of "false consciousness" (K. Marx) are examined on the basis of extensive sociological material, considerable attention is devoted to the analysis of the participation of believers in progressive movements, including revolutionary movements. The truly "hot spots" of the interaction of religion and politics have been chosen by the author, much new material, acquaintance with which will be extremely useful for propagandists and sociologists, has been put into scientific circulation. The thoughts of Mchedlov about the content and forms of the appearance of modern clericalism in the developed capitalist countries, about the political doctrines of Islam and Judaism and about the subsidization of clerical organizations by imperialist circles in Africa, Asia and Latin America are interesting. The chapters, in which the scientific sociological problems of the overcoming of religious ideology and the Leninist principle of the unity of Marxists and believing workers in the struggle for social progress, democracy and socialism are set forth, seem especially topical.

The organizers of ideological subversion regard religion as an offensive political weapon against the USSR and are striving to sow among believing Soviet citizens a sense of hostility to the socialist homeland and to provoke them to antisocial and antistate activity. The June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum directed special attention precisely to this circumstance:

"THE WORK WITH SUCH A SPECIFIC GROUP OF THE POPULATION AS BELIEVERS MUST ALSO NOT BE RELAXED [in boldface]. A portion of the people and, let us say frankly, not that small a portion is still under the influence of religion. Numerous ideological centers of imperialism are striving not only to support, but also to spread religiosity, to give it an anti-Soviet, nationalistic orientation. Religious extremists are especially being counted on" [1].

It is hardly possible to ensure effective antireligious propaganda without serious sociological studies of various categories of the population. Here it is extremely important to take into account the specific nature of confessional organizations in some regions of the country or others and the prevalence of religious beliefs subject to sex, education, occupation, participation in production and social activity, national traditions and rituals. Many assumptions of the monograph of Mchedlov can serve as a basis of research programs.

The June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum indicated that party organizations, ideological and scientific institutions and the propaganda aktiv of our party are called upon to launch aggressive antipropaganda work. In this connection it is important to investigate thoroughly, how bourgeois religious political propaganda influences the population, first of all believers, and what in this propaganda reaches the consciousness of people. Unfortunately, these questions are not examined in detail in the monograph of Mchedlov. However, it is specified in it that this theme needs special studies. I would hope that such studies will be conducted.

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7807

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SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF LOVE

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[Review by G. S. Michurin of book "Love" by K. Vasilev, translated from Bulgarian, Progress, Moscow, 1982, 384 pages]

[Text] If people say that love is an eternal theme, they usually have in mind lyrical fiction, and not scientific research developments. In many ways this is due to the breakdown of the two paradigms of social knowledge: the emotional figurative and the conceptual rational (analytical), which formed in the history of European culture. The separation of the intimate relations of people from rational cognitive faculties appeared clearly already in classical mythology and philosophy (Hesiod, for example, says that Eros "deprives one of all reason"). However, the conflict of the indicated paradigms is also characteristic to no less an extent of the present. The traditions of a kind of moral "taboo," which creates an aura of mystery around the feeling of love and enables everyday consciousness to lend a trace of frivolty to discussions about the sexual, play a considerable role here.

Perhaps that is why love--a most important sociocultural phenomenon and regulator of the behavior of people--extremely rarely becomes the object of philosophical and sociological studies. Any publication on this theme attracts the attention of a broad, although not always professionally trained reading audience. The translation of the second edition of the book of well-known Bulgarian philosopher K. Vasilev into Russian is a notable event in Soviet social science.

What is the importance of the monograph of Vasilev for sociological research? The main idea of the book--the biosocial conditionality of the process of the emergence and course of love--is not fundamentally new. It has been discussed by specialists of various philosophical orientations and schools for more than a decade. The novelty of the conception of K. Vasilev consists in the substantiation, the reasoning of this idea. Whereas the representatives of biological determinism in non-Marxist philosophy and sociology reduced love and the specific nature of the intimate relations between man and woman to psycho-physiological libidinal impulses or sexual "technology," Vasilev analyzes the biosocial nature of love from a consistently Marxist standpoint, in the context of sociohistorical development. In case of such an approach in the study of love the sociological content of this phenomenon: its sociocultural

conditionality and the functioning of social "regulators" of the reproductive behavior of the individual, including the institutions of marriage and the family, role orders, stereotypes of "masculinity" and "femininity" in the mass consciousness, values and norms, comes to the forefront. Precisely these features will especially interest the reader who is a sociologist.

Perhaps, many arguments and conclusions of the author will seem questionable and too categorical. This especially concerns the statements about the role of sexual attraction in the emergence and course of love, it is, undoubtedly, exaggerated. It is also possible to reproach the author for the fact that, in turning to literary sources, which are different in genre and orientation, he does not always separate the "grain" from the "chaff" and, as a consequence, allows questionable reminiscences. Thus, for example, citing A. Forel, Vasilev writes: "A flirting woman attacks a man, using artistically the weapon of smiles, tender glances, naturally emphasized shapes of the body, the elegance of toilets, the refined gracefulness of walking, the tenderness of the skin, the fragrance of the body--in short, all the attributes which create an atmosphere of amorous mesmerization. In this case it is very important that pauses would follow the concentrated influence.... The effectiveness of flirting usually depends to a great extent on the sense of proportion..." (p 208). Here, in our opinion, the author did not escape the influence of the "instructional" literature, which flooded the book market back at the end of the last century.

However, in spite of all the questionability of the author's opinions, the depth and scrupulousness of the analysis of the most subtle nuances of the feeling of love: from the ratio in it of the biological and the social, the rational and the emotional to the peculiarities of psychoerotic symbolism, distinguish the book. The service of the author lies not only in the decisions and conclusions proposed by him, but also in the posing of new problems at the meeting point of biology, psychology, sociology and ethics. For example, he formulates a specific research problem, which is of great importance for the scientific methods support of the activity of family and marriage advice bureaus: what are the objective factors, which determine the choice of a partner, "is it possible to reveal scientifically the secrets of 'love attraction,' the norms of the reciprocal appraisal of a man and a woman" (p 269). Unfortunately, without having data of sociological and sociopsychological studies, Vasilev is forced to rely mainly on literary images and facts of the biographies of prominent individuals. Although creating a strong impression, these materials do not make it possible to evaluate the reliability and representativeness of the assumptions being proven.

Above we mentioned the heuristic incompatibility between the emotional figurative and the analytical paradigms in the study of love. The discords, which follow from this incompatibility, are also inherent in the style of the monograph being reviewed, a significant portion of which is taken up by the presentation of fictional plots. At times it is difficult to separate the logic of the author's arguments from the verbose statements of poets, writers and philosophers. At the same time it would be an oversimplification to regard the style of the monograph of Vasilev as a conglomerate of two incompatible approaches. It has a mighty store of publicisticness and is of not only scientific, but also propagandistic and educational importance. Sociologists and

social psychologists will find in the book the formulation of new, unsolved problems. It is also unquestionable that the work of Vasilev, which was published in our country in a mass edition, will play an important role in the cultivation of the culture of feelings.

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[Article]

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